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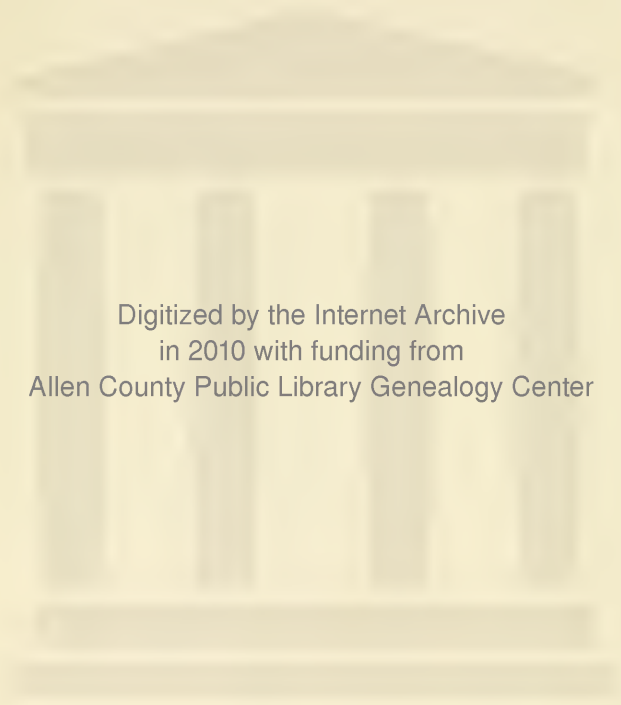
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1919

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XV

MARCH, 1919

No. 1

The Old Chicago Trail, and the Old Chicago Road

ELMORE BARCE, Fowler, Ind.

To the Indian, the Grand Prairie, notwithstanding its vast stretches, was as an open book. He traveled without compass, but that instinct which guides the animal through the forest, and the fowl through the air, guided the wary savage to far away hunting grounds, or to the wigwam of his enemy, with unerring footstep.

Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, a historian of the Northwest, says:

Their (the Indian's) knowledge of the geography of their country is wonderfully exact. I have seen an Indian sit in his lodge, and drape a map in the ashes, of the Northwestern states, not of its statistical, but its geographical features, lakes, rivers and mountains, with the greatest accuracy, giving their relative distances, by days' journeys, without hesitation, and even extending his drawings and explanations as far as Kentucky and Tennessee.¹

Notwithstanding this intimate knowledge, however, the wilderness of the early days was marked by many Indian trails, caused by different parties of Indians traveling frequently over the same route, to hunt or trade. These trails usually followed the path of least resistance, avoiding swamps, bogs and stony places, and choosing the high and dry ground.² Sometimes they followed the traces made by the buffalo or the deer in

¹ *Wau-Bun, The Early Days in the Northwest*; by Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, Chicago, 1855, p. 367.

² *Bureau of American Ethnology. Handbook of American Indians, Part II*, pp. 799-800.

going to watering places or salt licks. It is certain that a route would always be adopted, at least in times of peace, where water and fire would be available, and where the hunting parties would be afforded an opportunity, if possible, to camp and rest in the groves and woodlands. Mrs. J. H. Kinzie mentions a great trail made across the prairies of Illinois, by the Sauk Indians, in going to Fort Malden and Detroit, to hold councils and trade with the British agent. She describes it as "a narrow path, deeply indented by the hoofs of the horses on which the Indians traveled in single file. So deeply was it sunk in the sod which covers the prairie, that it is difficult, sometimes, to distinguish it at a distance of a few rods."³ This great Sauk trail passed through Lake and Porter counties, in Indiana, running by Cedar Lake, where fish and game were abundant.

It must not be understood that these trails were always plainly marked. In places they were lost in the expanse of the plain, or disappeared in marshes and lowlands. However, the general outlines of the larger trails were fairly well fixed. There might be two or three paths in some places, but these would later converge and run together. In places the track might be entirely obliterated, but would later appear again.

There is now no doubt that an eaeerly Potawatomi trail, of great importance, extended from Kick-a-poo Falls, on the Wabash river, near the present site of Attica, to the old Indian trading post of Chicago, coursing through what is now Benton and Warren counties, in Indiana, and entering the state of Illinois near the present town of Sheldon, and thence extending a little west of north, to Lake Michigan. The route of this trail may be more explicitly described as follows: Commencing at Kick-a-poo Falls, it extended almost due northwest through Warren county, to the present site of Rainsville; thence northwest to the prairies of what is now Benton county, crossing Mud Pine creek near Chase; thence extending due northwest across the prairie to Parish's Grove, and from thence northwest to Sugar Grove; it then ran to the State line, northwest, between Indiana and Illinois, somewhere west of Raub; thence northwest to a point near the present town of Sheldon, Ill.; thence to Bunkum, on the Iroquois, or Pinka-

³ *Wau-Bun, The Early Day in the Northwest*. By Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, Chicago, 1855, p. 143.

mink river; thence extending in a northerly direction on a general line with the towns of Donovan, Momence and Blue Island, and passing on to the post of Chicago. It crossed Beaver creek on the Illinois side, and also the Kankakee or Theakiki.

At the point where this main trail entered Parish's Grove, it was joined by another trail or feeder which led off to the southeast, in the direction of the old Indian trading post of Ouiatenon, just below the present site of Lafayette, following the general route of what was afterwards denominated the Lafayette road. This side trail would extend in the general direction of the present towns of Oxford, Otterbein and Montmorenci.

The line of the main Potawatomi trail, as it passed through Warren and Benton counties, was well marked as early as 1824. It is recorded that in the fall of that year, Berry Whicker, Henry Campbell and other Ohio land hunters, joined a party of Potawatomi who were going to Beaver lake on a big hunt. They started at Kick-a-poo and followed a well-defined Indian path. When they got out into the big prairies of Benton county, the "blue-stem grass grew so high that one of the party rode out a few feet into the blue-stem from the party in the Indian trail, and the rest of the party passed without seeing him."⁴ Now the only Indian trail extending across Benton county in the general direction of Beaver lake, of which there is any tradition, is the one that passed through Parish's Grove. John Pugh, an old and reliable pioneer of Warren county, now dead, related that when he was a boy of fourteen, that he traveled with his father over what he denominated as "The Chicago Trail," to Chicago, passing through Parish's Grove, and thence on by way of Bunkum and Momence, Ill. This shows that the very earliest settlers, who knew the Potawatomi well, always spoke of a "trail" instead of a road.

An old map of Indiana, published by Colton in 1838⁵, shows a road extending northwest from Kick-a-poo to Rainsville, and then on to Parish's Grove. There is no record that a State road was ever located over this route, although there is an act of the State legislature for the year 1829, establishing

⁴ *Sketches of the Wabash Valley*; J. W. Whicker, p. 108.

⁵ Map of Indiana, J. H. Colton, 1838, State Library.

a State road north from Williamsport to Parish's Grove and the State line. The trace from Kick-a-poo to Parish's Grove on the Colton map is undoubtedly the line of the old Indian trail.

The exact location of the main trail as it passed through the groves and plains of eastern Illinois, was probably never definitely fixed. As before shown, the line of these trails was sometimes dimly marked. The history of Kankakee county, Illinois, fixes the establishment of an Indian trading post at Bunkum, on the Iroquois, as early as 1822, kept by Gurdon S. Hubbard and Noel Le Vasseur, and the establishment of what was known as "Hubbard's Trail" to and from Fort Dearborn, which in a general way "ran almost parallel with the Indian trails."⁶ This way led by Donovan, Momence and Blue Island. Le Vasseur and Hubbard were in the employ of the great fur companies, and it is not likely that any of those who bartered whiskey and beads for furs and peltries would be found anywhere else than on the lines of Indian communication. Hubbard in his autobiography speaks of Sugar Grove and tells of camping with some Kick-a-poos on Big Pine creek. He says that he accused the Kick-a-poos of deceiving General Harrison, at the Battle of Tippecanoe, by pointing out an unfavorable location for a camping ground. He says that the Kick-a-poos laughed at this and told him that the old general had selected the best site in the locality for a ground of defense, and Hubbard to verify this statement made a trip to the battleground and said he was convinced that the Kick-a-poo statement was true. He mentions Burnett's creek on the west side of the battleground.

The reason for the existence of this great trail is at once apparent. The Potawatomi control extended from Lake Michigan to the north bank of the Wabash, reaching down that stream as far as the outlet of Big Pine creek. Mr. Beckwith, once president of the Illinois Historical Society, is authority for the statement that the groves in the prairies west of Lafayette contained mixed villages of Kick-a-poos and Potawatomi.⁷ Parish's Grove had an Indian burying ground on the west side of it, which was visited by bands of Potawatomi as late as the "40's." All the groves and prairies of

⁶ *History of Kankakee County, Illinois*, 1906, II, p. 634.

⁷ *Fergus Historical Series*, IV, No. 27, p. 174.

Indiana and Illinois and along the line of this Potawatomi trail have Indian traditions connected with them. Topenebee, the great chief of the Potawatomi, was well acquainted with all this ground; he was, by the treaty of 1832, made with the United States government, granted a section of land bordering on Sugar Grove in Benton county, and known as "The Indian Float."⁸ It was an ideal tract, with timber on the west side of it, and watered by Sugar creek. Topenebee probably selected the location himself. Now this great trail, running the whole length of the Potawatomi domain from Lake Michigan to the Wabash, served to unite all the Indian villages in these groves, led directly to the great fishing grounds of the Iroquois and the trapping and hunting grounds of Beaver lake and the Kankakee, and connected the different bands of this tribe with the trading post under the guns of Fort Dearborn at the north, and with the ancient post of Ouiatenon, the French traders on the Wabash, and the post of Vincennes on the south. In General Harrison's day, and later, it was no uncommon sight to see drunken Potawatomi and Kick-a-poos in the streets of Vincennes. Samuel R. Brown, who visited Vincennes about 1817, says: "There was several Indian traders—great numbers of Indians resort hither to sell their peltries. The tribes who frequent this place and reside on the Wabash, are the Kick-a-poos, Miamis, Potawatomies, Shawanese, Weaws, and Delawares."⁹ Morris Birbeck, another learned traveler, says: "The Indians are encamped in considerable numbers round the town, and are continually riding in to the stores and the whiskey shops."¹⁰

Be it said to General Harrison's credit, that he frequently sought to check the rapacity and lawlessness of the whiskey venders of Vincennes, and the unscrupulous traders that swarmed along the upper Wabash in trading boats and procured the most valuable furs by the exchange of worthless trinkets and jugs of cheap whiskey. On the convening of all the important Indian councils he forbade the sale or barter of whiskey within certain limits, but his decrees were little heeded by lawless gangs of traders who cared for nothing except the profit they might reap from drunken and besotted savages.

⁸ *Indiana Magazine of History*, March, 1918, p. 3.

⁹ Indiana as seen by Early Travelers, Lindley, 415.

¹⁰ Indiana as seen by Early Travelers, Lindley, 181.

The early accounts of the Iroquois, the Kankakee and Beaver lake, all agree that at one time they constituted the great hunting and trapping grounds of the Potawatomi in northern Indiana. Beaver lake and its contiguous swamps abounded at one time with fur-bearing animals, such as the muskrat, the mink and the beaver. "It was located almost wholly within the limits of McClellan township, in Newton county, Indiana," and, "as shown by the meander lines of the government survey, and as the lake existed before being materially reduced by drainage, it was the largest body of water in the State of Indiana. Its greatest width from north to south was about four and one-half miles, and its greatest length from east to west was about seven and one-fourth miles. It covered an area of about twenty-five square miles, or about sixteen thousand acres of land. In earlier times the water of the main body of the lake was perhaps six to ten feet deep, and abounded in fish of all varieties usually found in streams and lakes in this locality, and was especially remarkable for the number of buffalo fish that abounded in its waters."¹¹ The party of land hunters, heretofore mentioned, who accompanied the Potawatomi to this lake in 1824, described it as "a beautiful body of water, very clear and rather shallow, a delightful place for the Indians to hunt, fish and bathe. It was one of the principal camping grounds of the Potawatomi Indians, and with the exception of the visit with their friends along the Wabash, the white men who were with the party, enjoyed the stay at Beaver lake better than all the rest of the trip."¹²

Is it any wonder, then, that we find a main line of travel, extending from the groves of the prairies, and from the trading posts, to and from these rivers and lakes where the savage went to supply his wants, and to secure those valuable furs which he found so useful in exchange. It is plain to be seen that Le Vasseur and Hubbard exercised some degree of intelligence in establishing the early post of Bunkum on one of the main trails leading to these ideal trapping grounds.

The travel over the southern part of this great trail, to and from the ancient village of Ouiatenon, must have been extensive. No doubt a large part of the traffic from Beaver

¹¹ *History of Jasper and Newton Counties, Indiana*, I, pp. 242-243.

¹² *Sketches of the Wabash Valley*; Whicker, p. 109.

lake went this way, keeping to the prairie route, where fewer obstacles would be encountered in the journey and taking advantage of the frequent groves and Indian villages along the way. Fort Ouiatenon was one of the earlist French trading posts in the West. It was established, as Logan Esarey says, for the protection of the fur trade. "It is possible," observed *Sieur de Vincennes*, "to send out from this post every year about thirty thousand skins."¹³ At this point also existed for several years an unscrupulous band of half-breed French traders with whiskey, beads and trinkets, who took every advantage possible of the ignorant savages. But the Potawatomi were always favorable to these French traders, who seemed to understand them better, were less brusque with them, and frequently intermarried with members of the tribe.

This great Indian pathway is not without its historical interest. It played a conspicuous part in the shaping of the history of the Northwest. Over it probably passed the renowned *Shaubena*, chief of the Prairie Potawatomi, to form a league with *Tecumseh* and the Prophet. This was in the spring of 1807, and was *Shaubena's* first meeting with that famous chieftain. The friendship thus formed was afterwards cemented by frequent intercourse. *Shaubena* was with *Tecumseh* at the great council with General Harrison, in 1810. In the fall of that same year, *Tecumseh* started out on his great mission of uniting the Indian tribes against the further progress of the white man. He rode hundreds of miles across the forest and prairie, accompanied by three principal chiefs, and all were mounted on spirited black ponies. Their nearest route to *Shaubena's* village would be by the side trail leading from the site of the present city of Lafayette, west across the prairies to *Parish's Grove*. There was a persistent tradition among the early settlers of Benton county that *Tecumseh* had at one time camped there. This was probably the occasion. *Shaubena* afterwards related that *Tecumseh* arrived at his village on the Illinois river on a warm day in the early part of Indian summer. The trip across the vast expanse of prairie at this delightful season must have been entrancing. The arrival of so distinguished a person as *Tecumseh* was no common event. "On the following day a favorite dog was killed, a feast made for the distinguished visitors, and the

¹³ *History of Indiana*; Logan Esarey, pp. 20-21.

night spent with songs and dances."¹⁴ Shaubena accompanied Tecumseh on this occasion, on his visit to the Winnebagos of Wisconsin, and the success of that venture was afterwards shown by the presence of so many renowned Winnebago warriors at the Battle of Tippecanoe, dressed in their gorgeous head-dress of eagle feathers, and mentioned by General Harrison as displaying the most conspicuous bravery

Along this famous trail undoubtedly passed many of those Potawatomi who took part in the terrible massacre of the garrison of Fort Dearborn, on August 15, 1812. Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, in her vivid account of this affair, speaks of a party of Indians arriving from the Wabash. "These were," her narrative continues, "the most hostile and implacable of all the tribes of the Potawatimies."¹⁵

Says Copley, "they brained innocent children, clinging to their mothers' knees, and then struck down the mothers, and with hands reeking with blood, tore their scalps from their heads even before death had put an end to their sufferings."¹⁶ Such was the horrible fate that innocents often met, at the hands of these cruel and relentless savages.

THE OLD CHICAGO ROAD

Over the trail of the savage passes the foot of the white man and civilization dawns. A road is an artery along which flows the new blood that imparts life and vigor to a new country. It was the building of roads that enabled Rome to extend her laws and establish her empire in the old world; it was by way of the National Road of the early days of the Republic that the West was finally conquered and permanently settled.

The Battle of Tippecanoe over, the English influence over the Indian tribes of the Northwest forever removed, the settlement and development of the great West went on apace. Soon the "prairie schooner" appeared, drawn by oxen, and bearing families and all their possessions over the roads of the wilderness. From the time of the opening of the United States land office at Crawfordsville, in 1828, the development of the country in the northern part of Indiana was exceedingly rapid.

¹⁴ *Memories of Shaubena*; N. Watson, Chicago, 1878, pp. 19-21.

¹⁵ Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun, The Early Day in the Northwest*, p. 235.

¹⁶ *Michigan Pioneers and History*, XIV, p. 267.

"Crawfordsville," says Logan Esary, "became the converging point for all settlers northwest of the capital. The first settlers of Lafayette and Delphi, and what was then called the Upper Wabash country, made their way from the Upper Whitewater valley across by way of Andersontown, thence down White river to Strawtown, near Noblesville. There they took the wilderness road, by Thorntown, to Crawfordsville. From White river to Crawfordsville there was not a white man's house along the trace in 1825."¹⁷

With the rough pioneer roads extending to Crawfordsville, and later on to Lafayette, there came a demand for the opening up of highways north of the Wabash river. General Harrison's soldiers, on their historic march to the battlefield of Tippecanoe, had discovered bluegrass in the prairies of Vermilion and Warren counties, and they had been wonderfully impressed with the vast areas of open plain containing rich and productive soil. General Tipton had recorded in his rather rough and illiterate diary, that the troops of Harrison, on the morning after the battle of Tippecanoe, had discovered a "grait Deal of corn" at Prophet's Town; that, after loading six wagons with corn, the troops had destroyed the balance, estimated at two thousand bushels. These facts became generally known with the return of the troops to southern Indiana and Kentucky. Great reports had been made of a virgin land, filled with pleasant groves. Deer were known to abound, and all kinds of wild game. Discerning men, even at that day, saw great possibilities ahead for the grazing of herds. Some of the prairie groves contained springs; others were located on the banks of running streams. Here was water and fuel, and refuge from the storms of the prairie. With the development of markets, their greater accessibility, all things were possible. Long before the "40's" had arrived, men were predicting the coming greatness of the Old Post of Chicago. There was the old line of the Potawatomi trail from Kick-a-poo to Post Chicago, and another ill-defined trail leading into this from the vicinity of Lafayette, but no roads.

Accordingly, we find the General Assembly of 1829 appropriating the sum of seven hundred and fifty dollars "to extend the location of the State Road from Indianapolis to Crawfordsville, so that it shall run to Williamsport, in the county of

¹⁷ Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana*, p. 273-274.

Warren, from thence to the State line, in a direction to Chicago.”¹⁸ This was the establishment of what has since that time been known as “The Chicago Road.” From Williamsport it passed in a general northwesterly direction past the site of the present town of Boswell, to Parish’s Grove, which it entered at the southeast corner; from thence it passed over the prairies for a distance of eight miles to Sugar Grove; from thence it passed northwest to the State line, near Raub. An extension of this road into the State of Illinois passed on to Bunkum, on the Iroquois river, intersecting at that point what was called “Hubbard’s Trail” to Chicago. To the settlers who later hauled produce and drove cattle from Crawfordsville and Williamsport to Chicago, the whole road from Crawfordsville to Chicago was known as “The Chicago Road.” From Parish’s Grove on into Chicago, the line of the old “Chicago Trail” of the Potawatomi, and the line of “The Chicago Road,” were practically identical. Men who traveled it in the later days had scarcely heard of such a thing as a trail. Not so with John Pugh and some of the earlier pioneers.

If you will examine the Colton map of 1838, printed with this article, you will plainly see the line of three roads, all entering Parish’s Grove. The one farthest to the left is the old State Road from Williamsport and Crawfordsville; the one in the center, passing through Rainsville, is the old Potawatomi Trail, extending from Kick-a-poo to Parish’s Grove, over which Berry Whicker and his companions traveled in 1824; the one to the right is the Lafayette Road; running from Lafayette to Parish’s Grove, and crossing Big Pine creek. This Lafayette road followed the line of the old trail extending south and east from Parish’s Grove to Ouiatenon and the Wabash. By consulting the map, the markings of the trail as it runs northwest from Parish’s Grove, may be plainly seen, and also the point of intersection with Hubbard’s Trail, which is the first trail west of the State line. The point of intersection, however, should be at the Iroquois river, instead of farther south, for Hubbard’s Trail was first established from Bunkum, on the Iroquois, north to Chicago. The extension of the trail south from Bunkum occurred in later years.

Over these roads and trails from the south and east came a large portion of the early settlers that settled Warren and

¹⁸ *Acts of Indiana*, 1829, p. 122.



COLTON'S MAP, 1838

Benton counties, and many passed on into Newton, Lake and Porter. More than that, from the early 40's, a steady stream of emigrant wagons from the south began to roll over the prairies toward Illinois, Iowa, Michigan and Wisconsin. There were whole months when at any time on any day, a "prairie schooner" might be seen traveling across the plains from Parish's Grove to the northwest. The old trail suddenly assumed a national importance. From Ohio, Kentucky and all Indiana south of Wabash, a tide rolled on that ultimately filled all the groves and prairies north of the Wabash, and overflowed into other and newer territories to the north and west.

The amount of travel along this old trail in the 40's, and later, was greatly augmented by the constantly increasing number of wagons coming from Tippecanoe, Warren, Fountain, Montgomery and other counties, laden with produce for the growing market of Chicago, which had an outlet to the east by way of the Great Lakes. A prominent citizen of the early days of Chicago speaks of the "Hoosiers" supplying a large share of the food supply consumed and shipped from that point, such as hogs, cattle, wheat, rye, flax and other articles of consumption. "The Chicago Road" became a great feeder to this growing lake port. Says John Ade:

Prior to the year 1853, at which time the railroad between Indianapolis and Lafayette was completed, and the Illinois Central began to run trains between Chicago and Kankakee, there would be in the fall of each year an immense amount of travel on the roads between Lafayette and Chicago, most farmers' teams hauling wheat to Chicago, or coming back loaded with salt and groceries of all kinds, either for their own use or for the merchants who had purchased stocks of goods east and shipped the same to Chicago by way of the lakes. To accommodate this travel, camping places, and in several instances, "taverns," as they were called, had been established a few miles apart, all the way between Lafayette and Chicago.¹⁹

To this must be added a large volume of travel coming from points farther south along the Wabash and from Warren, Fountain and even Montgomery counties.

The list of "taverns" and camping places along this route for the accommodation of travelers is thus most interestingly told by Mr. Ade:

¹⁹ *History of Jasper and Newton Counties Indiana*, p. 205.

After leaving Lafayette, the first would be Oxford, at that time the county seat of Benton county. Parish Grove was the next point; then Sumner's (Sugar) Grove, between Mud Pine and Sugar Creek; then Bunkum, at which point there were two taverns, one on each side of the Iroquois river. The next was the Buck Horn tavern, located near where the present town of Donovan, Illinois, stands. . . . The next tavern was at the crossing of Beaver creek, and the next was known as the Big Spring, about half way between Beaver creek and Momence. Then on to Momence, at the crossing of the Kankakee river. The next general stopping place was called Yellow Head Point, said to be named after an Indian, who lived there, by the name of Yellow Head. The next point on the road was Blue Island, and then came Chicago, a distance of about one hundred and thirty miles from Lafayette, and taking six to eight days to make the trip.²⁰

It might be added that this Indian whom Mr. Ade speaks of as being named Yellow Head, was a drunken and quarrelsome savage who once caused Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard a great deal of trouble at Bunkum after imbibing a little too much fire-water.

John Pugh, a late respected citizen of Warren county, when a boy fourteen years of age, made a trip over this road, which he persisted in calling "The Chicago Trail," in the year 1841. The party consisted of several men, horses and wagons. Peter Schoonover, grandfather of Judge Schoonover, present judge of the Fountain circuit court, accompanied the party and drove two yoke of oxen. It was the custom of those days to make the trip to Chicago in companies, in order to guard against the hazards of the journey, and to provide means of "pulling out" the other fellow in case he "got stuck" in the mud. To the eager boy of fourteen, this pilgrimage of ten or twelve days through the wilderness, crossing plains and rivers, sleeping at frontier taverns, and at last reaching the great lake and the post of Chicago, was an experience that he remembered as long as he lived.

The way was long and the journey difficult, as the ground was extremely soft and wet, and this made hard pulling for the teams. The elder Pugh had a load of about twenty-five bushels of grain, consisting of wheat and flax, the latter grain being much grown in the early days to subdue and rot the sod of the prairies. The market price of wheat in Chicago at that time was thirty-seven and one-half cents per bushel, and flax was seventy-five cents per bushel.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

Coming out of Warren county, the wagon struck the main trail in the vicinity of where the town of Boswell now stands, and the boy remembered of seeing a man come across the prairies in a wagon. The hoofs of a deer were sticking up above the top of the box. Deer were then very abundant. The first camping ground was on the northwest slope of Parish's Grove, near the renowned tavern of Robert Alexander. The horses and oxen were watered at the fine spring of pure water, at the foot of the slope, which had made this a favorite camping ground of the Indians.

Morning on the prairie was glorious. An early start was made, and the party arrived at Bunkum on the second evening and at Beaver Lake creek on the third. At Beaver Lake creek the wagons mired in the bog and were pulled out by Schoonover's oxen. On the arrival of the company at Chicago, which was then a small place, Pugh remembered of watering the horses at the lake front. The waves were very high, and at one moment the horses were splashing knee deep, and at the next they would be standing on the naked sands.

After disposal of their loads and doing some trading, the party returned over the same route. Pugh recalled the bartering of seventy-five coon skins, the product of many a good night's hunt, and of his father buying a stove, which was then a curiosity, and some articles of wearing apparel. The whole party of travelers, however, were clad in homespun, the product of the pioneer looms of those days.

The whole country from Warren county to the lake was then in a state of nature. Bogs and marshes were frequent, but in places the level prairie extended in unbroken grandeur for many a league. Wild game was extremely abundant in the fall of the year. In the night time, when the wagons rolled along, the great flocks of geese and brants, aroused by the approaching teams, and arising from the ponds and low places, made a great noise and clamor.

Forerunners of Indiana Art

By GEORGE S. COTTMAN, Indianapolis, Ind.

Of latter-day art in Indiana, which has added honor to the name of Hoosier, much has been said in a passing way, but the forerunners of that art—the first esthetic expressions of our people, have escaped notice or comment. The first aspirants whose souls soared above mere utility, were so isolated and obscure that the little part they played is all but lost to the memory of man. A counterpane or quilt, treasured in a family here and there, with the simple tradition that “grandma made it,” is about all that remains by way of record, unless we except obscure and indirect records that are more than apt to be missed by the chronicler. One, for example, might hardly think to turn to the dry old official reports of the State Board of Agriculture as a source of information about art beginnings, yet those reports, as foreign as they would seem from things of this sort, have preserved from utter oblivion not a few names that should be remembered very kindly by those of today who stand for the upward trend and the struggle away from the sordid.

The records referred to are, in brief, the premium lists of the yearly fairs. The first State fair was held in 1852, and it is interesting to find that in this agricultural exhibit of a State that was predominantly agricultural some attention was paid to the beauty side of life. Among the home-made articles receiving premiums and mention we find lace caps, Ottoman covers, ornamental shell work, fancy baskets, lamp mats, chenille work and artificial flowers. There is also a natural flower display.

The following year the list of articles of this sort is enlarged, and still further enlarged in successive years, the range including fancy chair covers and tidies, fancy worsted work, fancy penmanship, etc. Pictorial art was represented the first year only by “monochromatic” drawings, by Lucy D. Carlisle, aged nine, but in 1853 the committee on special articles reported “several beautiful specimens of landscape paint-

ing," the artists being Miss S. Benbridge, James Crawford, Jacob Strilling, G. W. Morrison and Jacob Cox. The highest award, fifteen dollars, was given to Morrison, and Cox got ten dollars.

By 1857 the list of exhibiting artists had increased to a quite considerable number, and the localities they hailed from are given as follows: Jacob Cox, Mrs. M. A. Talbott, Mrs. A. G. Porter, Miss Mary E. Hill and R. D. Musgrave, Marion county; James D. Wright and James F. Gookins, Vigo county; Mrs. Rebecca Vance and Miss E. S. Vance, Henry county; Miss Mary J. Ball, Lake county. This exhibit, about twenty pieces in all, was somewhat heterogeneous, consisting of landscapes portraits, still lifes, pen and crayon drawings, fancy penmanship and "fancy paintings," whatever that may mean. Of the persons named Jacob Cox, James F. Gookins and George W. Morrison attained to some prominence and are still remembered. Of the three least is known about Morrison, but Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb, of Indianapolis, is authority for the statement that he came from Baltimore to Indiana in 1840 and located in New Albany, where specimens of his art may now be found.

An artist of the pioneer period whose pictures are still found up and down the Wabash valley, and who for his services to both art and history deserved more fame than he has fallen heir to, was George Winter. Winter was an Englishman, who had studied painting at the Royal Academy, in London. In 1837 he came to Logansport; and for the better part of forty years he resided there and at Lafayette, wringing a livelihood out of art as a profession, and managing to do so by periodical raffles of the products of his brush. What drew him to the Wabash region was the Indian life, still lingering there, with its picturesque features. In the portrayal of this life he produced many pieces of decided historical value, including council scenes, portraits of notable chiefs and the Indian dress and customs. Subsequently he painted many local landscapes, among which were at least half a dozen views of the Tippecanoe battleground. One of the latter, of quite heroic size, he presented to the State of Indiana, and the State, not having grace enough to take care of it, let it go the way of all junk.¹

As far back as the twenties New Harmony, with its rare

¹ For sketch of Winters and his work, see Vol. I, No. 3, of this magazine.

aggregation of talent of many kinds, boasted several artists, but these, exotic, borrowing nothing from the life to which they had been transplanted and adding little to it, can hardly be reckoned as among the "forerunners" of our indigenous art. In this connection may be mentioned Christopher Harrison, Indiana's first Lieutenant-Governor, who prior to his public life spent several years as a hermit on the bluffs of the Ohio, where Hanover now stands. Harrison, so tradition says, brought with him his paints and brushes, and with them whiled away the lonely hours, but how serious were his efforts is not known.

The discouragements of the artists are proverbial, but in our pioneer days they were more desperate than now, and he who surmounted them had persistence indeed. About the first sympathetic notice that Jacob Cox ever received came from Peter Fishe Reed, a fellow-idealist who, in 1852, lauded his work and congratulated him on his determination to give up the tinner's trade and devote himself entirely to art—which change, Reed facetiously remarked, would afford his friend "more comfort but less tin." By that time Cox had been painting pictures for some years, but Reed states that he had never seen in the public prints any notice or appreciation of him, and he wondered that he (Cox) did not go to Cincinnati, where he would have a chance.

An unpolished diamond with a determination to shine not to be thwarted was Joseph O. Eaton, who came to Indianapolis in the latter forties as a runaway from his home in Ohio, wearing one of his father's old coats, which was much too large for him. His father wanted him to be a farmer, but Joseph elected to be an artist, and as proof of his talent in that line brought with him two portraits, one of George Washington and the other of an itinerant Methodist preacher. The father of his country looked as if intended for a tavern sign, and both pictures are described as "frightful daubs." Nevertheless, on the strength of them he succeeded in drumming up custom and, it is said, "painted whole families at five dollars ahead." Among these subjects was no less a person than Governor Whitcomb. This Whitcomb portrait was once owned by Judge Biddle, of Logansport, and is probably still in existence. From Indianapolis Eaton went to Cincinnati, and subsequently to New York City. He became a portrait painter of note, and

it is said that in Cincinnati he cleared up a respectable fortune.

Other names that should be mentioned in this connection are Jacob Cox, John H. Niemeyer, John G. Dunn, Peter Fishe Reed and James B. Dunlap. Cox, the best known of these, devoted himself to art in Indianapolis for fifty years, though obliged, for the sake of a livelihood, to retain a connection with the tinning business, which he learned as a young man. His art career seems to have begun in 1840, when he was called upon to paint a banner for the Tippecanoe campaign. After that he studied for a while in Cincinnati, then painted and taught in Indianapolis, where he came to be regarded as the Nestor of the profession. He may, perhaps, be spoken of as the true forerunner of the art that has since sprung up. Niemeyer, an Indianapolis sign painter, took his first art lessons of Cox, then studied in New York, then in Europe, and after that became a professor of drawing and painting at Yale College, and a lecturer on art. Dunn, a son of George H. Dunn, an eminent lawyer of the State, was an erratic character with the temperament of an artist, who might have made his mark had he possessed tenacity of purpose. Cox describes him as "a genius with much ill-jointed, badly-directed talent," and adds that "his coloring was exquisite and his invention wonderful." He got nowhere, however, was given to dissipation, and died young, leaving as a tragic token of both his talent and his moral trials and struggles a temperance painting representing a man with pen in hand and the pledge before him, on one side a woman urging him to sign it, while on the other Satan, just visible in the shadows, tempts him with a glass. The piece, in its appeal to the imagination, bears out Cox's comment as to the artist's invention. Peter Fishe Reed was a versatile genius of the middle-century period, who stood loyally for the fine arts and produced both paintings and literature, besides being a devotee of music. His work in the two lines still exists but is rare. Dunlap was an Indianapolis man, who left as a proof of his talents many clever sketches, and at least one piece of sculpture—a bust of Captain Sutter, which is now in the State Library.

In the State Library hangs what is probably the oldest existing Indiana painting. It is of Hyacinth Lasselle, and a memorandum in the handwriting of Charles B. Lasselle, his son, states that it was painted by Louis Peckham at Vincennes,

in 1812. Another portrait in the Library is of John B. Dillon, the historian, when a young man, and this is attributed to a now-forgotten artist by the name of Stephens, who painted this piece at Logansport in 1835.

It should be added to this cursory sketch that, as early as 1853, the question of an "Academy of Arts" for Indianapolis was proposed, and that in 1856 the Indianapolis Art Society, for the encouragement of local artists, came into existence. All of which goes to show that before our present crop of trained artists there was a pronounced impulse toward an indigenous art expression.

Militia of the United States from 1846 to 1860

By PAUL TINCHER SMITH. A.M., Purdue University

In considering the raw material from which the militia of the United States is made, it is necessary first to understand the meaning of the term as it is to be used in this discussion. There are at least three ways in which the term is popularly used, and each of these is quite distinct from the others. The broadest meaning includes all those citizens who could be called out in an emergency to defend the country. A second and more limited meaning includes those between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who are enrolled in regularly organized companies. The third and most limited use of the term applies to men who are not only organized into companies, but who meet regularly and drill for the purpose of becoming proficient in the manual of arms. It is this third type of militia which has done really effective work, and it is the purpose of this paper to discuss what it actually accomplished during the years under discussion, with the hope that some light may be thrown on a little-explored field of our military history. The sources for a study of this type include the documents of all the States, as well as those of the United States. No attempt has here been made to examine all the materials, or even a great number of them. The task would obviously be an endless one for a single individual. However, thoroughness has been exercised in the ground that has been touched and the selection of material has been based on the importance and representative character of the respective states. Massachusetts, New York, Virginia and Wisconsin were given special attention; numerous other states, including Kentucky, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Mississippi, Vermont, Rhode Island and Ohio, were touched; Indiana was examined with especial care. All government documents have received proper attention.

Mr. Upton, in his *Military Policy of the United States*, remarks that "up to (the time of the Mexican War) the militia

system * * * had been regarded as the bulwark of national defense."¹ Evidence seems to prove that the bulwark had begun to weaken before the Mexican war, but, at any rate, there had been a conscious attempt on the part of congress and the various state legislatures to remake their schemes to meet the new conditions arising. The basic law for all military organizations was passed by congress on May 2, 1792, and was entitled, "An Act to provide for the Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions."² Although probably suited to the time when it was made, it left many loopholes which had to be filled in later. In 1803 the adjutant-generals of the various states were required to make annual returns to the President of men, arms and ammunition; in 1808 the President was given authority to require executives of the States to organize effectually and equip their portion of the militia, and the government agreed to provide the equipment for all militiamen, the allotments to be based on the annual returns. In 1820 the States were required to use the discipline and yield exercise of the regular army. This completes the government program to the beginning of the Mexican war. There is evidence of progress.³

At the same time that the general government was taking measures to keep the militia at its best, the State legislatures were making repeated attempts to hold popular interest in measures of defense. In 1855, the author of a pamphlet advocating military reform in Massachusetts, wrote: "The idea of reforming our militia is not a new thing in Massachusetts; for the military themselves, and our legislature at their urgency, have been trying their hands upon it for some thirty years."⁴ The Indiana legislature passed acts referring to militia organization fourteen times in the period from 1800 to 1840.⁵ This same story, with variations to meet the local situation, was true of practically all the States. But all the

¹ Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States* (Washington, 1912), p. 221.

² *United States Statutes at Large*, 1789-1799, p. 264.

³ Material on these acts is to be found in the *United States Statutes at Large* for the years indicated.

⁴ William Jenks, *Reform of the Militia* (Boston, 1854), p. 1.

⁵ *Indiana Laws*, 1807, p. 245; *Ibid.*, 1816-17, p. 175; *Ibid.*, 1831, p. 417; *The Militia Law of Indiana, Sixth Edition*, 1821-22; *Laws of Indiana*, 1822, p. 52; *Ibid.*, 1826-27, p. 39; *Ibid.*, 1829-30, p. 93; *Ibid.*, 1833, p. 122; *Ibid.*, 1834-35, p. 263.

efforts were of no avail, for the militia was on the decline and every effort failed to maintain the old standards.

It is impossible to set an exact date for the beginning of the decline in interest in the militia, but certain it is that the decline began many years before the Mexican war. The causes for it were many—lack of military necessity; rareness of drill days; expense, and commutation and fines. As the memory of the War of 1812 faded gradually from the public mind, the military spirit also declined. Then it was that the hardships worked by the system became noticeable. The drills in most cases were held on only one day in the year, and that usually in April or October. It took all morning to get the roll called, and it was not until two o'clock that the actual drilling occurred, and then the officers in command many times appeared late in the day. In many cases that in itself would have made little difference, for often the officers knew little more than the men, but the loss of time was a real burden. One case at least is on record where the officer in charge was in the habit of reading the orders from printed cards.

Next to the loss of time occasioned on drill days, the things felt to be most burdensome were the fines imposed for absence, and commutations allowing those with money the opportunity of buying their exemption from duty. The miserable condition of feeling toward the system is indicated by the fact that in many States the commutation required for one's absenting himself entirely from military activity amounted to something between seventy-five cents and three dollars. To those who stood the strain this seemed unfair and they rebelled. In the beginning the fines were exceedingly heavy, and many times imprisonment was included. This latter burden became so odious that it had finally to be removed in all parts of the country. All manner of claims were set up for exemption; lieutenant-governor; legislators; judges; State officials; college instructors; academy teachers; county officers; government clerks, and all conscientious objectors, all claimed exemption. By 1840 the whole system had fallen into general disrepute.⁶

The lack of interest is nowhere more evident than in the incompleteness of the annual returns from the States. During the entire period under consideration there were constant com-

⁶ An interesting example of exemptions may be found in the *Digest of New York Militia Law*, 1848.

plaints, alleging that the small number of militia on the government records was due to the fact that the State officials failed, either in returning complete records or in turning them in at all. The complaint was also made by the State officials that the smaller units failed to turn in the records to them. Indeed, the greatest lament came from the State adjutant-generals, for it was their duty to see that the State which they represented got its full quota of arms. As the means provided by the government was the basing of State quotas on the annual returns, the State was the loser and the adjutant-general got the blame. The first year the adjutant-general was in office he was likely to send a statement to the legislature to the effect that he was helpless, and request legislative aid. The following years, having been discouraged by the lack of attention to his first appeal, he usually merely remarked that he had no effective way of getting records. Thus the records of the federal adjutant-general were usually very defective. The following table indicates the number of times reports were sent to the general government during the period from 1846 to 1860, the dates indicating the years of the first reports from the respective States. Note that in many cases the number of arms furnished a State had to be based on a return which came in long before 1846.⁷

Ark. -----	3-----1843.	Miss. -----	1-----1838.
Ala. -----	5-----1844.	Mo. -----	2-----1844.
Cal. -----	3-----1853.	N.H. -----	8-----1846.
Conn. -----	7-----1846.	N.J. -----	2-----1829.
Del. -----	1-----1827.	N.Y. -----	10-----1846.
D.C. -----	1-----1845	N.Car. -----	1-----1845.
Ga. -----	2-----1839.	Ohio -----	2-----1845.
Iowa -----	0-----	*Ore. -----	0-----
Ky. -----	7-----1846.	Pa. -----	6-----1846.
La. -----	6-----1829.	R.I. -----	8-----1846.
Ill. -----	3-----1841.	S.Car. -----	4-----1846.
Ind. -----	1-----1832.	Tenn. -----	1-----1840.
Md. -----	1-----1838.	Tex. -----	1-----1847.
Mass. -----	11-----1846.	*Utah -----	3-----1851.
Me. -----	6-----1845.	Vt. -----	1-----1843.
Mich. -----	6-----1845.	Va. -----	9-----1846.
*Minn. -----	2-----1851.	*Wis. -----	5-----1840.

*Indicates territories.

⁷ The American Almanac, 1846-60.

Heavy fines gradually bettered this situation regarding returns in at least some States.

The duties of the adjutant-general in most of the States were so slight that the office was not generally attractive to men of energy. In many cases the incumbent knew nothing military. An example of this is found in David Reynolds, adjutant-general for Indiana in 1846. General Lew Wallace, in his *Autobiography*, gives an interesting account of a visit to Reynolds' office. He remarks among other things that the office and salary of the adjutant-general were alike unattractive, up till the time of the beginning of the war. He refers to "the office" of the general for lack of a better word to express what he meant. Until 1846 the "office" was the front room of the incumbent's house in southern Indiana. Beginning with 1846, he was required to have an office in the State Capitol, and the salary, including all expenses, was one hundred dollars a year.⁸

By 1840 the condition of the militia began to alarm some interested people and, as a result, congress appointed a committee to report on the condition of the militia and to make suggestions for its betterment. The report got no decent hearing, but, as many of the States followed the advice of the committee, it is worthy of some attention. The report began with the recognition of the fact that the enlistment plan for obtaining men was a failure, and the committee recalled the fact that privileges and exemptions allowed those who joined and became uniformed had been of no avail. Next, they called attention to the fact that while the regular soldier was comfortably clothed, the militiaman was thrown on his own resources. They demanded that something be done immediately to avoid the impending crash of the whole framework of national defense.

The committee suggested the following changes: Repeal the part of the law of 1792 which required *all* able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to serve in the active militia, in such States as would provide for the drafting or voluntary enlistment of one hundred and sixty thousand men and place them at the disposal of the President, and train them for thirty days a year; second, it was suggested that

⁸Oran Perry, *Indiana in the Mexican War* (Indianapolis, 1908), gives an interesting account of the adjutant-general's office.

the men be divided into four classes, the first to serve two years, the second, four years, the third, six years, and the fourth, eight years. This second provision planned to make the system a burden on no one. In addition, there was a third suggestion, that each county's quota be divided into two groups; the younger men were to be organized as the "Active Militia," and the older as the "Peace Establishment." The younger companies would in all cases be called first. The general government, had this plan been adopted, would have furnished regular army pay and uniforms; the individual State would have furnished the arms and other equipment. The Secretary of War disapproved of the plan because it did not furnish enough drill days, although it was much better than anything in the past.⁹

Soon after the report of the committee several States remodeled their systems, many of them using suggestions embodied in the report. Volunteer companies had been doing regular work in many States, and these were now given more recognition. The outstanding example of this is Massachusetts, this State disorganizing its existing militia system and substituting a call for volunteers to the amount of ten thousand. These were to be the "Active Militia," and were the only ones of military age to be trained. Five years was the length of service for each man. However, the volunteer system does not seem to have been successful in any case, and this was no exception. In 1847 the adjutant-general of the State reported that the whole thing was a failure.¹⁰

Indiana made a desperate attempt during this period to revive interest in the system. In 1840 an act was passed dividing the militia into "Active" and "Sedentary." The former division was composed of men from eighteen to thirty, and the latter of those from thirty to forty-five. The younger group, as was the plan in Massachusetts, was to be called upon first. Evidently this was not entirely satisfactory, for the provisions were changed in 1842 and 1843, and by 1844, the legislature was willing to accept companies containing as few as thirty-two men.¹¹ The same thing with slight varia-

⁹ Keim, *Report of the Committee on Militia* (Washington, 1840), in *New York Review*, 1840, Vol. 7, p. 293.

¹⁰ *Massachusetts Militia Law Digest*, Vol. 52, p. 15.

¹¹ Material for above statements may be found in *Indiana Laws*, beginning with 1839 and extending through 1844.

tion was going on in the other States, but the result was in all cases the same. The case seemed hopeless. At the opening of the war the report came from every side that military spirit was at its lowest ebb and that the chance of saving the system was small. Examples could be brought from every direction; outstanding examples are the complaints in the legislative documents of Ohio, Maine, Indiana, Massachusetts, and New York.¹²

The foregoing statements make it clear that it is impossible to arrive at an exact knowledge of the number of men in the militia system of the United States at the beginning of the Mexican war, but the following table shows the number of "enrolled" militia at or near 1846, based on returns in the *Official Army Register* and the *American Almanac*:

Ala. -----1844-----	61,336	Mo. -----1844-----	61,000
Ark. -----1843-----	17,137	N.H. -----1846-----	29,639
Cal. -----1844-----	-----	N.J. -----1829-----	39,171
Conn. -----1846-----	57,719	N.Y. -----1846-----	165,544
Del. -----1827-----	9,229	N.Car. -----1845-----	79,448
D.C. -----1832-----	1,249	Ohio -----1845-----	176,455
Fla. -----1845-----	12,122	Ore -----1846-----	-----
Ga. -----1839-----	57,312	Pa. -----1846-----	271,687
Iowa -----1846-----	-----	R.I. -----1846-----	15,786
Ky. -----1846-----	90,976	S.Car. -----1846-----	54,704
La. -----1847-----	43,823	Tenn. -----1840-----	71,252
Ill. -----1841-----	83,234	Tex. -----1847-----	19,766
Ind. -----1832-----	53,913	Utah -----1846-----	-----
Md. -----1838-----	46,864	Vt. -----1843-----	23,915
Mass. -----1846-----	96,839	Va. -----1846-----	121,336
Me. -----1845-----	44,665	Wis. -----1840-----	5,223
Mich. -----1845-----	60,886		
Minn. -----1845-----	-----	TOTAL -----1846-----	1,907,217
Miss. -----1838-----	36,084		

Of course the above table does not show anything like the actual *Active* militia of the country, for the Active was always much lower than the enrolled shown on the records. The following table may help to give some idea of the relationship which existed between the Active and the Inactive at the opening of the war. The table shows the Enrolled and Active returns in the single state of Massachusetts for the period of seven years preceding the Mexican war. If this may be taken as anything like a fair example, the ratio between the two

¹² Material for this statement may be found in the Documents of the various States mentioned for the years 1844 and 1845.

branches must have been something near ten or fifteen to one hundred. The raw materials after 1846 will be discussed in another place.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Enrolled Militia</i>	<i>Active Militia</i>
1840 -----	83,602-----	7,255
1841 -----	81,313-----	5,902
1842 -----	80,518-----	6,150
1843 -----	81,500-----	6,350
1844 -----	81,441-----	6,372
1845 -----	84,470-----	6,337
1846 -----	90,349-----	5,490
<hr/>		
Total -----	583,193-----	42,856
Average -----	83,193-----	6,122 ¹⁴

UNITS AND OFFICERS OF MILITIA

Since the Militia Act of the general government, passed in 1792, formed the basis for service throughout the whole period under consideration, it will be worth some examination. It was called an "Act more effectually to provide for the National Defense by establishing an Uniform Militia throughout the United States," and it provided that "the militia of the respective States be arranged into divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions and companies as the legislature of each State direct; and each division, brigade and regiment be numbered at the formation thereof; and a record made of such members in the adjutant-general's office in the State; and when in the field, or in the service of the State, each division, brigade and regiment respectively take rank according to their numbers, reckoning the first or lowest number highest in rank." In addition, it was suggested "That if the same be convenient, each brigade consist of four regiments; each regiment of two battalions; each battalion of five companies; each company of sixty-five privates."¹

This same law also provided that each State should officer its militia as follows: "To each division, one major-general and two aides-de-camp, with the rank of major; to each brigade, one brigadier-general, with one brigade inspector, to serve also as brigade-major, with the rank of a major; to each regiment, one lieutenant-colonel commandant; and to

¹⁴ *Massachusetts Adjutant-general's Report*, 1852, p. 15.

¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, 1792, II, p. 101.

each battalion one major; to each company, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer and one fifer or bugler." Each regimental staff was to consist of an adjutant, and a quarter-master, each to rank as a lieutenant; one paymaster, one surgeon and a surgeon's mate, one sergeant-major, one drum-major and one fife-major.

In regard to detail, the act provided that each battalion was to have at least one company of grenadiers, light infantry or riflemen, and that each division was to consist of one company of artillery and one of horse. Artillery companies had one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, six gunners, six bombardiers, one drummer and one fifer. Each troop of horse was to be equipped with one captain, two lieutenants, one cornet, four sergeants, four corporals, one saddler, one farrier and one trumpeter. Each State was required to furnish each company with a drummer, and a fifer or bugler; each State was required to elect an adjutant-general. As to the rank of officers in the States, the date of the commission was to be the deciding factor and, when this was impossible because of two coinciding dates, the matter was to be settled by lot.²

The law deserves such examination in detail because it covers the field of possibilities in organization so thoroughly that there was little left for the individual States to decide. It will be observed that there were a few places where modifications were possible. The units could not have less than the required number of officers but they might have more. Virginia, for example, had only four companies to a battalion instead of the suggested five of the law; Massachusetts allowed a company to organize with only forty-eight members instead of the sixty-five; some States had four lieutenants instead of the two required. With these minor exceptions the States were organized according to the one type. The following table indicates the amount of variation allowed in the size of companies in the single State of New York in the year 1847. This was the point of most variation, and the same thing that was true of New York during the Mexican War was also true, with modifications, in the other States of the Union.³

² *United States Statutes at Large*, 1792, II, p. 101.

³ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1847, p. 113.

<i>Number of companies in a regiment</i>	<i>Total men in regiment</i>	<i>Average</i>
1-----	96-----	96
4-----	236-----	59
4-----	246-----	61
3-----	136-----	45
4-----	197-----	44
3-----	168-----	56
1-----	58-----	58
1-----	73-----	73
1-----	64-----	64
11-----	677-----	62
8-----	430-----	54
5-----	302-----	60
6-----	361-----	60
8-----	466-----	58
4-----	153-----	38
10-----	573-----	57
4-----	215-----	54
5-----	260-----	58
TOTAL-----		1,051
Total average number of men to a company-----		58

The following chart, showing the staff officers, their units and assistants in Virginia in 1850, may be taken as a fair example of similar organizations in other States. One officer was added to these lists after the Mexican War, namely, the engineer. His need had not been felt before, but the developments of the war brought the necessity for the change.⁴

<i>UNIT</i>	<i>Division</i>	<i>Brigade</i>	<i>Regiment</i>
Officer	Major-General	Brigadier-General	Colonel
Assistants	One Division	One Brigade	One Quat.-Master
	Inspector	Inspector	Six pay-masters
	(Lieut.-Colonel)	(Major)	One surgeon
	Two Aides-de-Camp	One Aid-de-Camp	One surgeon's mate
	(Majors)	(Captain)	One Adj. (Capt.)
	One Division	One Brigadier	One Sergt.-Major
	Quarter-Master	Quarter-Master	One Quarter-
	(Major)	(Captain)	Master Sergeant
			Two Principal
			Musicians
			One Drum-Major
			One Fife-Major

⁴ *Adjutant-General's Report* in Assembly Documents of Virginia, 1845, Vol. 2.

The method of the selection of officers was not worked out during this period, but during the fifties there were numerous suggestions made to the effect that it would be wise to introduce the merit system into the selection of officers. However, none of these suggestions, for some reason or other, seem to have been acted upon. In most of the States the privates elected. Especially was this true of the company officers. In Virginia the major-generals and brigadier-generals were elected by the vote of the General Assembly, and the adjutant-general was appointed by the governor. With such exceptions as the foregoing, most of the officers got their positions through the votes of the men directly under them; the men of the company electing the company officers; the company officers electing the regimental officers, and so on. Indiana offers a good illustration of this selection plan. In 1843 Indiana passed an act allowing the second or second and third lieutenants to be elected by the companies. In 1844 the regimental officers were to elect two men for colonel and lieutenant-colonel, their respective rank to be determined by lot. Notification of the vacancy of an office was to be sent to the governor, who would thereupon order an election to fill the vacancy. In 1852, a new act gave the Governor the authority to appoint a resident brigadier-general in each county, each county to be a regimental district. Each general was to recommend to the Governor suitable men in his county for colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major. The colonel was given the right to appoint one captain and two lieutenants in each township for every one hundred militiamen inhabitants. The captain of each company was made responsible for the appointment of four sergeants and four corporals. All removals were to be made by court-martial. It can scarcely excite comment, after reading the foregoing, that there were officers who had to read their orders from cards.⁵

However, it must not be inferred from the foregoing that all the officers were entirely without training. To be sure, most of it was meager, and often it did not exceed that of the privates, but there were some exceptions. Whereas, some of the States required the officers to buy their own tactics,

⁵ *Indiana Laws*, 1844, p. 20. *Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1853, Part II, p. 7-9.

Massachusetts, and a few following her example, were generous enough to furnish copies of the tactics to some of the officers. Virginia, in 1850, required that the officers meet for three days previous to the annual muster and drill.⁶ There is evidence that many times offices were given to men merely as honorary, and the incumbent needed to know nothing about military usages. A military title was a desirable handle in the community, for time was when a military officer was an exceedingly important personage. Brant and Fuller, in their *History of Bartholomew County, Indiana*, express it well: "A popular man who was so fortunate as to secure a commission of general, colonel, or even lieutenant-colonel or major, was pretty sure to get a civil office if his aspirations led him that way."⁷ The honor for a uniform did not disappear with interest in what the uniform represented. It was claimed that the Indiana law of 1855 was passed with nothing else in view but the issuing of commissions in order to confer military titles only. New York, after 1857, allowed any man who had been in the service for twenty years to be given the honorary rank of colonel. The evidence of the prevalence of this plan is the custom in some communities of calling any elderly man "colonel."

From colonial times the annual muster day had been the chief social time for the entire neighborhood, the dancing and barbecue always attracting quite as much as the serious business of the day. This festive side of the occasion became more and more prominent as the memory of past wars gradually faded, and the officers took their duties less and less seriously. The appearance of a body of militia on training day has been likened to a burlesque on all things military. There was considerable variation among the States in the number and time of drill days. Most of the States had only one, and that either in the late spring or early autumn; but it gradually became the custom to have the drill on both days. Indiana, in 1844, provided that drill should take place at a time set by the regimental by-laws, or at a time when two-thirds of the members should agree. Massachusetts had two drill days, but this was not sufficient, for the adjutant-general

⁶ *Report of Adjutant-General, Massachusetts, 1852, p. 29; Militia Law of Virginia, 1850, p. 20.*

⁷ Brant and Fuller, *History of Bartholomew County, Indiana.*

complained that it took all the first day to get into camp and be inspected, and the second day was occupied with reviewing, thus leaving only a very short time for purposes of actual drill. Massachusetts responded with the requirement of three consecutive days, and this was followed with the problem of forcing the men to stay all three days. Wisconsin shows the same trend, for, in 1858, that State required the commander-in-chief to direct an "annual school of practice" not to exceed four consecutive days, in August or September.⁸

The early encampments were by small units, but the tendency was always toward larger ones. There was the constant suggestion throughout the forties, by adjutant-generals, that much might be gained by training larger units together. During the fifties the improvement on this point came. Indiana had muster by battalions in April and by regiments in October. In 1853 Massachusetts had an encampment by divisions for the first time; and, finally, in 1859, the entire military force of that State assembled for the first time together.⁹

Inside the regimental organizations, many States permitted volunteer companies to become a part of the system. Voluntary enlistment of this nature was permitted by Indiana in 1844, and these organizations, since they were free-will in plan, furnished the real backbone of the organization of the volunteers for the Mexican War. Numerous references are made throughout the county histories to crack companies and their relation to the regular required organizations. In 1846, just at the outbreak of hostilities, the adjutant-general of Indiana called attention in his report to the useful volunteers. The internal organization of these units was the same as that of the regular units.

The condition of the militia system after the war is to be considered in another part of this paper, but it is necessary to stop here long enough to call attention to the changes in units and officers, brought about by conditions existing at the close of the Mexican War. Diminished interest produced what might be called a period of "skeleton regiments." As early as 1847, in New York, the adjutant-general sug-

⁸ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1856, p. 18; *Militia Law*, Wisconsin, 1858, p. 31.

⁹ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1853, p. 28.

gested a complete reorganization of the militia, because so many of the companies of both infantry and artillery had been reduced to small numbers. The reorganization was immediately effected. There was a continued change to larger units and less detail. This is illustrated well by Massachusetts, which State for many years previous to the War claimed that she had the best militia system in the whole Union. In 1855 it proposed to drop the names of "artillery" and "light infantry" and call it all "infantry." The next year the adjutant-general proposed dropping the third and fourth lieutenants, and his 1858 report shows that one-third of the companies of the State had been affected by an order of March 27, which provided for the disbanding of all companies having less than thirty-two privates.¹⁰ Wisconsin, Indiana, Virginia, and many other States had to meet similar conditions. In Indiana a reorganization was effected in 1853, but it had to be done all over again in 1856, for the adjutant-general reported that it was harder than ever to get the returns, to say nothing of better organization. His remark, near the end of his report, summed up the case as it existed in many States: "Literally, there is no report to make."¹¹

MATERIAL EQUIPMENT AND FINANCE

In the case of equipment, as in the case of the organization of the militia, the general government furnished the pattern and a large amount of the actual material to the States. In 1803 congress authorized the constant provision of the whole militia of the United States with arms, and, in 1808, that body made definite arrangements for carrying into effect the previous provision. By this act, the secretary of war, through the department of the quartermaster-general, was authorized to provide each State with sufficient arms, each year, to equip the militiamen reported from each State. The basis for the apportionment was one musket, or its equivalent, to each man. A musket was reckoned at thirteen dollars, and it was left to each State to determine what kind of equipment

¹⁰*Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1855, p. 25.

¹¹*Adjutant-General's Report*, Indiana, in *Documentary Journal*, 1856, Part I, p. 393. He went on to say . . . "We have sowed commissions broadcast through the state . . . "; . . . "Our desires fell off from an entire reorganization to simply anew enumeration, yet even in these modest efforts we have signally failed, and we have to abide by the enumeration of 1833."

would be most useful. For example, if there were a thousand men reported from a State, that State's quota would be a thousand muskets, or any other arms stipulated by the State to the value of thirteen thousand dollars.¹

It is probable that no State, during this period, got its full quota of arms at any time, for the rolls were never complete. Attention has already been called to the fact that the number of men reported from a State determined the amount of arms allowable to that State. There was considerable variation among the States as to the number of men sent in as compared to the actual strength of the militia, but they all fell short of anything like perfection. As a result of the repeated annual statements of the chief of ordnance to the general government to the effect that the total strength of the militia was by no means being turned in, congress, finally, in 1846, passed an act which provided in a better way for the enrollment. A study of the figures representing the number of muskets or their equivalent, furnished the States and Territories by the general government year by year from 1846 to 1860, shows some very interesting facts. In the first place, more than half of the States had their quotas based on numbers sent in before 1845; secondly, there was an evident, continued drop-off in interest from 1846 on; thirdly, the low mark for returns is from 1855 to 1858. This is evident at a glance from the fact that in so many States the number of arms remained the same from one year to another.²

The annual expense for the system is definitely set forth in the following table:³

Year	Amount
1846-----	\$186,169.41
1847-----	163,039.97
1848-----	305,755.60
1849-----	173,709.33
1850-----	191,209.13
1851-----	202,671.17
1852-----	263,586.68
1853-----	191,233.40
1854-----	156,145.43

¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, 1799-1803, p. 207.

² These figures were compiled from a study of the reports of the Chief of Ordnance from 1846 to 1860 in *Senate Documents*. The complete table is omitted here because of its volume.

³ Report of the Chief of Ordnance, 1846-1860, in *Senate Documents*.

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1855-----	179,535.27
1856-----	144,842.59
1857-----	134,529.40
1858-----	257,594.44
1859-----	No Abstract
1860-----	No Abstract

The variety of articles furnished to the States may be illustrated by stores sent out from the department in a single year. The following table shows the various articles distributed by the quartermaster's department in 1846:⁴

26 six-pounder bronze guns	
30 six-pounder carriages, with implements and equipments complete	
2 four-pounder carriages, with implements and equipments complete	
4 caissons, with implements and equipments complete	
6 sets of artillery harness for four horses	
7 sets of artillery harness for two horses	
4,692 muskets, with appendages complete	
540 common rifles, with appendages complete	
270 Hall's rifles, with appendages complete	
280 Hall's carbines, with appendages complete	
1,835 pistols	
1,598 sabres	
255 artillery swords	
4,835 sets of infantry accoutrements	
910 sets of common rifle accoutrements	
370 sets of Hall's rifle accoutrements	
180 sets of carbine accoutrements	
1,598 sets of cavalry accoutrements	
255 artillery sword belts	
12 extra cartridge boxes	
192 extra cartridge box-belts	
120 bayonet scabbards, with frogs	
120 waist belts	
120 gun-slings	
120 brushes and picks	
62 pairs of holsters and caps	
100 extra musket wipers	
25 extra musket ram-rods	
16,000 percussion caps	
10,000 carbine cartridges	

The preceding table does not represent the amount of materials sent each year, as these varied from time to time, but the variety is typical of the entire period. Neither does

⁴ Report of Chief of Ordnance, 1846, in *Senate Documents*, V. 493, part I, p. 14.

the table accurately represent the amount due the States by the general government, for there is evidence that many of the States were continually attempting to collect back debts. Finally, in 1853, a special agent was appointed to settle up the accounts with the States. As early as 1848, Indiana's adjutant-general complained that he had received nothing from the general government for two years.⁵

As far as the records show, the State aid for the militia was small indeed; evidently, it was thought that the government would provide enough under the act of 1808. In Indiana the legislature provided, in 1844, that the governor should furnish militia companies with arms, but, from all evidences, the supplying was done from the equipment supplied to the State by the general government.⁶ An isolated case appears in New York, where an act was passed in 1848, providing the adjutant-general with one thousand dollars, or part thereof needed," to furnish the commissioned officers with books of tactics.⁷

The arms furnished the States varied much in quality as well as in kind. During the fifties percussion muskets were replacing the old flint-locks, and every State wanted the new implement. The government, not being able to supply the entire demand for new arms, gave altered flint-locks to all who could be made to take them, and the good ones were reserved for the strongest objectors. Complaints come from all sides concerning the bad treatment.⁸

The care taken by the State, of the arms allowed it, differed nearly as much as the quality of the arms furnished. Most of the States provided arsenals for the care of the arms, but these were often poorly constructed and ill-equipped buildings. In 1857, Wisconsin was still in need of a place to keep her quota of arms.⁹ Indiana was keeping her stores in any building that could be rented for the purpose in 1850, and for several years thereafter the Adjutant General begged the General Assembly to provide a suitable place. The modesty of his request is indicated by the fact that he thought a suitable

⁵ *Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1848, Part II, p. 263.

⁶ *Indiana Laws*, 1844, p. 22.

⁷ *Laws of New York*, 1849, p. 562.

⁸ *Adjutant-General's Report*, New York, 1859, p. 9; 1858, p. 7; *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1857, p. 40.

⁹ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Wisconsin, 1857, p. 4.

building could be erected for from six to eight hundred dollars.¹⁰

Reports from the States show a great amount of necessary repairing being done, or needing to be done, to the arms in the hands of the State. In many cases the arms were scattered over the State, and these were poorly cared for. Practically all the holsters were capped with bearskin, and these were in constant need of repair from the effect of moths.¹¹ Much alteration was evidently going on, but there was not sufficient money to hire enough men to do all the necessary work. In many cases, through carelessness in keeping records and lack of proper provision for care, arms given out by the State to individual companies were left, not only in a state of disorder, but without proper equipment for their protection from the elements. Massachusetts reported, in 1848, that many arms were being returned to the State arsenal, and that most of them were in need of repair.¹² In Indiana, as late as 1859, the adjutant-general reported that there were numerous arms scattered over the State, and that most of them were in such bad condition that they were not worth collecting and shipping to Indianapolis. Even earlier than this, the same officer in Indiana reported that there were "a great number of arms of various kinds, scattered throughout different parts of the State, in some places stacked up in a house, in other places lying in shops, broken and rusted, and in other places distributed among the citizens [and] used for hunting, and claimed by those who hold them as private property."¹³ It was also his opinion that many of the individual members of the companies, upon their breaking up, "decamped and [took] the arms with them to Iowa, Missouri, and other places." Doubtless much valuable property was lost by careless record-keeping.

Very little attention seems to have been paid to ammunition, necessary as this article was. Virginia reported the urgent need for cannon balls and shells in 1849.¹⁴ So much trouble was experienced by the States in keeping track of the arms and ammunition that action was finally taken to

¹⁰ *Documentary Journal*, Indiana, 1850, Part II, p. 280.

¹¹ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Virginia, 1847.

¹² *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1847, p. 25.

¹³ *Documentary Journal*, Indiana, 1844, Part II, p. 42.

¹⁴ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Virginia, 1849, Document 8, p. 13.

keep accurate records of all given out, and their condition after being given out. Interesting examples of this movement are to be found in Michigan, Tennessee and Virginia.¹⁵ The history of this problem is well illustrated by the special case of one State. In 1831 Indiana passed a law, requiring the quartermaster to take receipts for all arms drawn from the public armory. How much interest was taken in such affairs may be gathered from the fact that, not until 1844 was there a receipt to be found in the office of this man. From 1832 till 1837, 1,857 muskets had been given out without record of who received any of them, and, by 1844, there were 2,401 muskets unaccounted for.¹⁶ In 1842 the General Assembly enacted that the commanding officer of each company should be required to give bond to the quartermaster, and that it should be the duty of that officer to get bonds as quickly as possible for those already out.¹⁷ The quartermaster started on the job with a determination to collect for everything outstanding and, by 1844, he was ready to report that he had required bonds on all small arms and had collected \$96,098 in this way; and that he was trying to reclaim all the lost arms with the aid of five agents in different parts of the State.¹⁸ By the next annual report he had collected seven hundred pieces, for which bond had never been given and, in 1846, he had succeeded in collecting seven hundred and ninety-three additional. Moreover, he had succeeded in getting most of the companies to pay the transportation charges on the arms to and from the arsenal, a thing which the State had not required.¹⁹ In 1853, when the new militia act went into effect, public sentiment had been developed to the point where a provision could be incorporated, requiring the board of commissioners of each county to be responsible and furnish the bond.²⁰

In the militia system the individual man had to bear the greater part of the burden of expense. The help from the general government and from the State was only a beginning. By the congressional act of 1792, the equipment of the indi-

¹⁵ Report of Committee on Militia, Michigan, 1848, in *House Documents, Niles Register*, Vol. 69, p. 159, Nov. 8, 1845, Tennessee Governor's Message; *Militia Law of Virginia*, 1850, p. 26.

¹⁶ *Documentary Journal*, Indiana, 1844, Part II, p. 39.

¹⁷ *Laws of Indiana*, 1842, pp. 91-92.

¹⁸ *Documentary Journal*, Indiana, 1844, Part II, p. 42.

¹⁹ *Documentary Journal*, Indiana, 1846, Part II, pp. 20-21.

²⁰ *Documentary Journal*, Indiana, 1853, Part II, p. 9.

vidual militiaman was definitely stipulated as follows: He was to equip himself within six month with * * * "a good musket or fire-lock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints and a knapsack, a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges, suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot pouch and powder horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder." He was to * * * "appear so armed, accoutred and provided, when called out to exercise, or into service, except, that when called out on company days to exercise only, he [might] appear without a knapsack."²¹ The act of 1808 took care of the gun the man had previously to furnish, but, with this exception, the individual completely equipped himself. All commissioned officers were to provide themselves with a sword or hanger and spontoon, and the rest of the officers were each to have a sword or hanger, a fusee, bayonet and belt, with a cartridge box to contain twelve cartridges.²² The cavalry officer was to have a horse at least fourteen-and-a-half hands high, a sword, a pair of pistols, the caps of the pistol holsters to be covered with bearskin.²³ The field officers furnished the State and regimental colors for each batallion.²⁴

No problem was more difficult to solve, nor is there one more interesting to read about than that of the uniform. There was no government regulation on this point, and the States did not take the matter in hand until after 1840, and then they usually left it to the individual unit to select. The government committee on militia did suggest, in 1840, "that no more becoming dress need be sought than the white rifle frock worn by many corps of the revolutionary army."²⁵ It was hinted that this would have an elegant effect. In fact, in most cases, the decision seemed to turn almost entirely upon the imposing appearance of the uniform. In Indiana, during this period, all companies selected their own uniforms, the only check being an order from the adjutant-general, in 1846, to the effect that when a uniform was adopted by a

²¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, 1792, II, p. 100.

²² *United States Statutes at Large*, 1792, II, p. 102.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 102.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 102.

²⁵ Keim, *Report of Committee on Militia*, p. 296.

company, the same material would do for the commissioned officers, "the usual variations in the trimmings" being made; for example, "one row of brass buttons down the front instead of two."²⁶ Similar situations in other States might be mentioned to indicate the same confusion. The fact that crack companies were designated by the color of their uniforms is significant at this point.

In conclusion there is another item of money to be mentioned; fines and commutations. It is evident that, from the first, one of the popular ways of enforcing attendance at drill was by means of fines. Another way of getting money was to let the man plan beforehand for an absence and pay a sum for the privilege of so absenting himself. The early fines were large and burdensome. In 1799, the basic law of Indiana provided that the fines for non-attendance at muster might be from six to one hundred dollars, at the discretion of the officer in command.²⁷ This is typical of the system until the early forties. A probable high spot in the history of militia fines is found in October, 1840, when the congressional committee on militia reported that imprisonment (an alternative for fines allowed in many States) was a thing which public opinion would no longer tolerate.²⁸ From this time on there is little or no evidence of imprisonment and the fines become less and less burdensome. In Indiana, in 1840, a law was passed stipulating that fines for non-attendance should not exceed three dollars.²⁹

Placing fines and commutation fees and collecting them proved to be two very different matters. It seems that at no time within the period under consideration did the States succeed materially in collecting either. Of the two, commutation money came in the easier; New York collected over forty-one thousand dollars in 1850 from those who did not wish to serve.³⁰ This was made possible partly through their plan of charging the commutation delinquencies remaining unpaid at the end of the year, to the town from which the commuters came. Indiana required the county clerk to keep a list of the

²⁶ *Indiana Laws*, 1844, p. 18; *Adjutant-General's Orders*, in *Documentary Journal*, 1846-47.

²⁷ *Laws of Northwest Territory*, 1788-1799, p. 121.

²⁸ Keim, *Report of Committee on Militia*.

²⁹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1839, pp. 22-25.

³⁰ *Adjutant-General's Report*, New York, 1850.

delinquencies and to collect the fines. This does not seem to have been entirely satisfactory in reaching the desired result for, in 1850, the adjutant-general found it impossible to collect the fines.³¹

During the period from the close of the Mexican War, on the suggestion that a community might be taxed to pay for the fines and commutations become a common thing. In this movement New York and Michigan were leaders; New York was the first State to take definite action. In 1856, the adjutant-general of that State made the remark that, "public opinion may not yet be prepared to sanction a direct tax for the support in part of the militia. The subject has not been sufficiently discussed, nor has the measure been seriously pressed." Evidently, however, no time was lost in pressing it for, in 1858, the people of Troy City were required to pay two hundred dollars for the support of the militia.³²

Some money was realized from the sale of old and unserviceable military stores. As early as 1840 Massachusetts authorized the sale of old materials. In this State two antiquated arsenals were sold, one bringing nineteen thousand dollars, and the other more than six thousand. The next year the interest in several old gun-houses was sold.³³ At the suggestion of the adjutant-general, New York sold her old arms, gaining ten thousand dollars, which amount was used for the purchase of tents and camp equipage.³⁴ At no time was the expense of the States exceedingly great, usually not being more than the pay of the men while in camp; that is, from five to nine dollars a year apiece. Nevertheless, there was considerable complaint at the expense of the system. In Massachusetts, Illinois, New York and Virginia there was complaint during the period that the cost of encampment, compared with the benefits received, was too great.³⁵ That the system was not costing much seems to be evident, but that it was costing much more than it was worth may be true, in light of the constant decline of the system.

³¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1842-1843, pp. 90-99.

³² *Laws of New York*, 1858, p. 583.

³³ *Digest of Militia Law*, Massachusetts, 1840, p. 24; *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1847, p. 24; *Adjutant-General's Report*, 1852, p. 31; *Adjutant-General's Report*, 1853, p. 31.

³⁴ *Adjutant-General's Report*, New York, 1853, in *Senate Documents*, 28, p. 10.

³⁵ *Senate Reports*, Virginia, Committee on Military Affairs, 1846.

THE MILITIA AFTER THE MEXICAN WAR

A well-known writer on military history has said that "the Mexican War marked a great change if not a revolution, in our military policy."¹ On examination, this is found to be true, and it is the object of this chapter to show what the change was and how it came about. Incidentally, it will not be beside the question to call attention to the fact that the Mexican War was fought by volunteers—not by the militia. That more died from ignorance of how to take care of themselves than from actual battle experience, was unobserved by the average citizen, and a great many people throughout the United States came to the conclusion that we could fight a successful war without the aid of trained citizens.

Whatever the inter-working causes, the militia continued to decline, as it had been declining for many years before the war. The fact is not obvious immediately on the close of hostilities. On the other hand, in many sections of the country, the opposite seemed to be the case for the first few years. Roughly, the period from 1848 to 1860 can be divided into three parts, with no absolutely distinct lines between them. For convenience, the first period may be called the early fifties, with the approximate dates, 1848 to 1853; the second period, the middle fifties, 1853 to 1858; the third period, the eve of the Civil War, 1858 to 1860. The first is characterized by a generally renewed interest in the militia, undermined in many places by superficiality; the second period is that of real decline, with a few isolated exceptions that seem to prove the rule; the third is the time of excitement before the storm, ending in the revelation of the fact that there was, in reality, no military force among the civilians from which to make an army.

The most noticeable change immediately upon the close of the Mexican War was the improvement in the returns from the States. There was a tightening up of the strings everywhere, and the results show nearer the truth concerning the number in the enlistment age than at any other time during the period under consideration. A study of a table, indicating the returns from the various States from 1846 to 1860, shows some important facts. It is evident, in the first place, that

¹ Emory Upton, *Military Policy of the United States*, p. 221.

in the States which sent in reports at all, there was a decided increase during the next few years after the Mexican War; secondly, that, although the majority of States sent in better reports from now on till the Civil War than had been the custom before the end of the Mexican War, yet, from 1852 on, the majority shows a gradual decrease. Finally, it is evident that there is a slight renewed interest just on the eve of the Civil War. If a graph could be constructed to indicate the facts, it would begin with the lowest point in 1846 and rise gradually and slowly through the Mexican War; rise rapidly after the war till 1852 or 1853; then gradually drop, but never reaching a level as low as that of 1846, until 1858; finally it would rise from 1858 to 1860.²

Virginia was reported as in a poor condition as regards returns in 1851, but by the next year, the House had passed bills providing for the enrollment by the commissioners of the revenue. By this means was reported an increase of two thousand.³ By 1857 Wisconsin had adopted a plan for getting returns which caused all the counties but two in that State to report that year.⁴ The astonishing result in this case was that the aggregate of 95,806 in this year was an increase of 50,781 over the previous report. New York passed, in 1854, "An act for the enrollment of the militia and the organization of uniform corps, and the discipline of the military forces of this State."⁵ Although Indiana made a constitution in 1852, in which there were no important changes on militia organization, by the next year a new militia law had to be adopted, making the captains responsible for the rolls in the various districts.⁶ Massachusetts offers a good example of what was going on. Here the adjutant-general announced, in 1852, that he had received returns from every city and town and generally within the time specified by law.⁷ The actual gain in reports in this State is astonishing; from 1849 to 1850 there was an increase of 12,850; 1852 showed a gain for that year of 2,649; 1853 showed a gain of 16,785. All of this

² The table referred to was constructed from data in the *American Almanac*, checked by *VanTyne and Leland's Guide*.

³ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Virginia, 1851, Document 10, p. 4; *Journal of the House of Delegates*, Virginia, 1853, III, p. 527.

⁴ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Wisconsin, 1857, p. 4.

⁵ *Laws of New York*, 1854, p. 1031.

⁶ *Documentary Journal*, Indiana, 1853, Part II, p. 8.

⁷ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1852, p. 5.

was admitted by the adjutant-general to be due to the improvement in returns, brought about by the new law requiring each company to make lists of returns in duplicate and file them directly with the central office.⁸

The war seems also to have stimulated reorganization of the systems in many States. Wisconsin repealed her territorial law in 1849, and replaced it with a new one in 1851.⁹ New York organized a corps of engineers in 1848; brigade inspectors were appointed in 1849; a complete new militia law was enacted in 1851; and, in 1853, the militia laws were codified. The adjutant-general boasted that "the legislature of this State has enacted the best militia law of which any of the United States can boast."¹⁰ Virginia made a new militia law in 1849, and the next year provision was made for the organization of volunteer companies, to be composed of from forty-five to eighty members and to be allowed to take in fifty contributing members. Each of the latter were to pay three dollars a year and, for that, to be free from military duty. Just what inducement this last point was in the case of a volunteer company is not pointed out.¹¹ Indiana, which State had attempted to pass a new law at the outbreak of the Mexican War and had failed, finally succeeded in getting a new one in 1852.¹²

Of all the States, Massachusetts had the most interesting record of reorganization, and she maintained her standard longer during the period than any other. The adjutant-general had reported, in 1848, that there was such an absence of public sentiment in favor of militia that he doubted much whether any law, passed by State or nation could remedy the condition. The law of 1840 had practically disbanded the organized militia and had left the entire system on a volunteer basis. Partly as a result of this statement of the case, the legislature of Massachusetts passed a law the next year, providing for the encampment of the State militia by battalions. It is evident that the law of 1849 had a good influence for the same adjutant-general, in 1850, announced that a great change

⁸ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1850, p. 4; *Adjutant-General's Report*, 1852, p. 14; 1853, p. 5; 1850, p. 4 and p. 21.

⁹ *Journal of the Assembly*, Wisconsin, 1850, p. 879.

¹⁰ *Assembly Documents*, New York, 1848, v. 2, *Adjutant-General's Report; Laws of New York*, 1849, p. 459.

¹¹ *Militia Law*, Virginia, 1850, p. 23.

¹² *Documentary Journal*, Indiana, 1852, Part II, pp. 18-45.

for the better had come about. The benefits of the law, as he summed them up, were: the benefits of competition; the provision for a testing of skill offered by the large gatherings, and the opportunity there offered for discussion and correction; finally, the battalion drill provided an opportunity for experience by larger units than had formerly been possible. The facts are that, in 1852, twenty-one companies were formed and only twelve disbanded; the next year twelve were organized and four disbanded. The average number of men in a company was increased; in 1851 it was 46.6, in 1852, 55.0, and in 1853, 63.0. There is no doubt but that the adjutant-general was correct when, in 1853, he said that "the militia never enjoyed a higher reputation, was never better organized, and never more free from objections." In 1855, he told the State that the Massachusetts militia stood in better repute at Washington than the militia in any other State.¹³

In contrast with the success in Massachusetts we find that a mass of facts lead in the other direction; most of it in the middle fifties, but much of it in the period immediately after the Mexican war. The year 1849 found Virginia volunteers in a bad condition, and the next year the returns were smaller than in 1849. In 1853 an act was passed which virtually disbanded the line.¹⁴ In Wisconsin, the enrolled militia was increasingly larger from the end of the Mexican war until 1856, in spite of the fact that public opinion was opposed to the militia system. Beginning with 1856, there was a decrease in the reports; that year one company reported, and, in 1857, no company made returns, although it was thought that there were at least twenty organized bodies in the State.¹⁵ The returns in New York from 1849 and 1850 are reported as being imperfect; the department of the quartermaster and the paymaster and the surgeon general were without efficiency, and the department of the commissary-general needed a thorough revision. Parades were entirely abolished in 1852. A new law was put into effect in 1854, but it does not seem to have had much effect in bringing the system back. It was this

¹³ *House Documents*, Massachusetts, 1848; *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, pp. 21-22, 1850; *Ibid.*, p. 35; *Adjutant-General's Report*, 1853, p. 35; *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁴ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Virginia, 1849, Document 8, p. 3; *Adjutant-General's Report*, 1850, Doc. 12, p. 3; *Adjutant-General's Report*, Virginia, 1853, Document 10, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Wisconsin, 1857, p. 4.

State which, in 1857, gave the rank of colonel to any one who had served for twenty years in the militia.¹⁶ New Jersey reported no improvement during the period.¹⁷ Even Massachusetts, where the greatest amount of improvement seems to have been made, showed signs of something other than a healthy condition. Like the rest of the States, Massachusetts succeeded in getting a larger enrollment each year, but, as was also true of the other States, the difference between the enrolled and the active branches not only did not increase, but actually went under. The following brief table of relationship between the active and the enrolled militia in Massachusetts brings out clearly the condition in that State, and it may be taken as fairly typical of other States of the Union.¹⁸

<i>Year</i>	<i>Enrolled</i>	<i>Active</i>
1848-----	98,076-----	4,588
1849-----	97,200-----	4,591
1850-----	110,050-----	4,791
1851-----	114,496-----	5,237
1852-----	116,546-----	5,809

A most discouraging report came from Indiana. To that State the unusual thing happened. "As soon as the war was over the military spirit died out almost as quickly as it had been aroused. It was impossible to maintain a militia, under the laws as they existed, and, during 1848, but 135 commissions were issued."¹⁹ During the period after the Mexican war, bills were often passed in one House but all failed of complete effect until 1855, when one passed both Houses but was too general to have any improving effect.²⁰ There was no enumeration in this State after 1831. Three years during the period from 1848 to 1855, there was no report from the adjutant-general and, in 1854, he made what he called an "apology for a report."²¹ In this State, then, there was not even the general enthusiasm which pervaded most of the States for a short time after the Mexican war.

The period of the later fifties, or the eve of the Civil war, is characterized by renewed interest in some sections, due

¹⁶ *Laws of New York*, 1857, Part I, p. 416.

¹⁷ *Adjutant-General's Report*, New Jersey, 1849.

¹⁸ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1852, p. 15.

¹⁹ *History of Indiana National Guard*, p. 85.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²¹ *Documentary Journal*, Indiana, 1855, p. 531.

doubtless to the impending war-cloud; and, in other parts by a continued slump. In New York the actual number of enrolled militia dropped off in 1858, but the next year the returns came in with few missing.²² In Virginia, in 1858, there was passed a Reorganization Act, but it did not gain the desired ends, for the adjutant-general reported that the guard was inferior both in material and discipline, to what it had been for some years.²³ In Wisconsin, the adjutant-general reported, in 1858, that "During the past season, there has been manifested an unusual degree of military spirit throughout the State."²⁴ Here, four days were provided for drill and the State was reorganized into brigades and regiments. Financial conditions were such that the provisions of the law of 1858 regarding reviews and parades were not carried out.²⁵ In Massachusetts, May training day was abolished in 1858 and one-third of the companies of the State were affected by the order of December 31, 1858, which ordered the disbanding of all companies containing less than thirty-two privates. This year also showed an actual decrease in the number of enrolled militiamen; only ninety-five companies were in existence. Likewise, 1859 showed a decrease and the number dropped to eighty-seven. In the light of these facts, the statement of the adjutant-general may be taken with a grain of salt. He said, "In my judgment the Volunteer militia of the State has never been more thoroughly organized, nor in better condition than at the present time."²⁶

The later fifties was a time when the "Corn-stalk militia" was abundant. Corn-stalks replaced the guns at drill and an extravagantly fancy uniform for the commandant in charge was sufficient for the whole body of men. Before the Civil War broke out the militia may be said to have disappeared as an effective body.

²² *Adjutant-General's Report*, New York, 1859, p. 10.

²³ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Virginia, 1858, Document 10, p. 4.

²⁴ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Wisconsin, 1858, p. 3.

²⁵ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Wisconsin, 1859, p. 6.

²⁶ *Adjutant-General's Report*, Massachusetts, 1859, p. 52.

Some Pennsylvania Dutch Genealogies

By FRANK L. CRONE, San Francisco

The families from which the writer is descended have no particular claim to distinction and their histories are recorded simply because they present certain points of general historical interest. With one single exception all the American ancestors of the writer are of Pennsylvania-German or Pennsylvania-Dutch origin. Both of the terms just employed are more or less inaccurate and under the circumstances we may be pardoned for using the more inaccurate but less odious term. By the Pennsylvania-Dutch we mean those families who came to this country between 1683 and the outbreak of the Revolution from the Palatinate and other states of South Germany and from Switzerland, together with a very small number from sections now included in France and who settled in Pennsylvania. Leaving thir old homes in Germany, Switzerland and France they came down the Rhine through Holland and touched in England on their way to Pennsylvania.

Many of the early settlers in northern and central Indiana were of this stock and their descendants are now numbered by thousands, many of whom are entirely ignorant of their true origin. In the families herein recorded there is only one record in the direct line of a marriage outside this racial strain. In the collateral lines it may be said that such marriages are more frequent but there has been a strong tendency to keep the strain pure.

The Crone, Switzer, Weaver, Stuckey, Stout and Steel families came from the counties of Berks, Lancaster and York in Pennsylvania. The Crones, Stouts and Steels came to Pittsburgh and then northwest to the vicinity of Mansfield, Richland county, Ohio. The Stuckeys and Switzers came straight west from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to Lancaster, Ohio, while the Weavers first went into the Shenandoah Valley and then northwest to the vicinity of Lancaster, Ohio, and later to Richland county, Ohio. The next removal was to Noble

county, Indiana, where the writer's parents were married and he was born.

To describe these migrations in another way it may be said that certain families followed the trail along which the Pennsylvania railroad was afterwards laid. Others went directly west to Lancaster, Ohio, while others came up from Virginia and followed the line of the Baltimore and Ohio to Lancaster, Ohio, and later to the vicinity of Mansfield. Not only these families but hundreds of others followed these routes of travel. They came in covered wagons bearing with them not only necessary tools and utensils but in many cases some prized article of furniture or table wear.

THE CRONE FAMILY

The first American ancestor of this family was Johannes Cron who came from the Palatinate and landed in Philadelphia September 19, 1738. He settled in York county where he died in 1769, leaving two sons, Simon and John. Simon apparently died without heirs but John of the second generation died in 1785, leaving twelve children, Jacob, John, Lawrence, Christina, Conrad, Michael, Henry, Anna, Mary, Catherine, Barbara and Elizabeth. The five last mentioned were minors. John Crone of the second generation and his sons Jacob, John and Lawrence were soldiers of the Revolution.

Jacob Crone of the third generation was born about 1756 or 1757. He served in the Sixth Pennsylvania regiment from 1777 to 1781. He was evidently a man of some independence of character for he declined to receive his pay in the depreciated currency offered him. After his father's death he must have suffered some financial reverse which compelled him to dispose of the double share in his father's estate to which he was entitled by reason of being the eldest son. Later he sold his personal property and went to Hagerstown, Maryland. In the meantime he had married Margaret Dritt, daughter of Peter Dritt (Tritt) and a sister of Jacob Dritt, a captain in the Revolution and later brigadier-general of State militia, and of Peter Dritt, also a Revolutionary soldier. They were married January 3, 1786 and had two sons, Jacob and John. When these two sons were very young the family removed to Hagerstown and later returned to York county. None of

the sons of Jacob Crone or Krone left any issue, but his daughter's descendants live in Pennsylvania and Maryland. Jacob Crone was a soldier of the War of 1812.

John Crone of the fourth generation married Elizabeth Pence (Bentz or Pentz) November 4, 1813. Elizabeth Pence was the daughter of Bernhard and grand-daughter of George Pence (probably the soldier of the Revolution) and doubtless the great-granddaughter of John Bentz who settled in York county in 1732. The fall of 1814 John Crone joined one of the companies which went to the relief of Baltimore but which arrived too late to take any active part in the hostilities. Later he removed with his family to Baltimore, thence to Hagerstown and later to Greencastle and Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. He was a blacksmith and these frequent changes of residence were doubtless due to his search for employment. The Crone family returned to York some time previous to their departure for Ohio in 1832. They settled in the vicinity of Lucas, Richland county, Ohio.

John and Elizabeth Pence Crone were blessed with seven children who reached maturity, John, Jacob, Elizabeth, Joseph, George, Emily and Catherine. John moved to Indiana, Jacob to Missouri and Joseph and George to Iowa while the families of the daughters remained in Ohio.

John Crone of the fifth generation, grandfather of the writer, came west to Fort Wayne, part of the way on the Wabash and Erie canal, in 1849, with his own and the families of John Weaver and Michael King. From Fort Wayne he went to a site near the city of Kendallville where he lived until his death in 1898 at the age of eighty. In Ohio he had married Catherine Switzer whose family will be noted later. They had eight children who reached maturity, all of whom remained in Indiana with one exception, Elizabeth Crone Jones of Garrett, Barbara Crone Rawson of Sunfield, Michigan, Mary Jane Crone Teal of Kendallville, John S. Crone of Kendallville, William H. Crone of Wolcottville, Sarah Ann Crone Blackman of Kendallville, Amy R. Crone Stultz of Elkhart and Laura Irene Crone Tyler of Kendallville.

John S. Crone, father of the writer married Ella Weaver whom he met while she was a teacher of Noble county enjoying a salary of some eleven dollars a month with the privilege of boarding 'round.

THE SWITZER FAMILY

Mention has been made of the marriage of John Crone of the fifth generation and Catherine Switzer.

Peter Switzer was one of four brothers who came to Lancaster county about 1740. He married Elizabeth Heffelfinger who came over on the same ship. Among other children they had a son Frederick who married Barbara Burkhart, daughter of Andreas Burkhart of Brecknock township, Lancaster (now Berks) county.

Frederick Switzer of the second generation had two sons who came west, Frederick and Jacob. Many of the descendants of both are found in western Ohio and eastern Indiana.

Frederick Switzer of the third generation married Barbara Stuckey (Stukey or Stuke) whose father John Stuckey was born in Switzerland in 1742, came to North Carolina in 1760, later removed to Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, and in 1792 came to Fairfield county, Ohio. This Stuckey family is now found through Ohio and Indiana and States farther west. Catherine Switzer, daughter of Frederick and Barbara Switzer, married John Crone in 1839.

THE WEAVER FAMILY.

The mother of the writer is descended from one of four Weavers, probably George, who settled in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, about 1709. The first accurate record we have is of her great-grandfather, John Weaver, born in 1762. This John Weaver married Susannah Sirk (Shirk), daughter of Matthias Sirk who was a son of David Sirk, the immigrant who came to Pennsylvania in 1747 and settled near New Holland. Matthias Sirk accompanied the family to Virginia and later to Ohio and died in 1833 at the age of one hundred seven years and five months, unless the author of the inscription on the gravestone were guilty of romancing. The family of John Weaver went to the Shenandoah Valley sometime after 1790 and came to Fairfield county, Ohio, in 1813. Later they settled in the vicinity of Bellville, Richland county. Here William Weaver, son of John Weaver, married Catherine Stout, daughter of John Stout, who was probably a son of Christian Stout and grandson of Peter Stout (Stoudt) who died in Berks county in 1795. Their eldest son was John Weaver.

The eldest son of William and Catherine Stout Weaver was John Weaver, grandfather of the writer, who married Mary Steel. The name Weaver is lost in this family for lack of male issue.

The Weaver family is a large one and is found in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois but no further details can be given in this paper.

THE STEEL FAMILY

John Weaver, grandfather of the writer, married Mary Steel. She was a daughter of James Steel and Elizabeth Fissel Steel. James Steel was born in Ireland in 1789 and came to this country when a mere lad. He was brought up by, and later married into a Pennsylvania-Dutch family. Elizabeth Fissel Steel was a daughter of Adam Fissel (Fishel or Fischell) who was doubtless the Adam Fissel who was a soldier of the Revolution. The Steels came to Richland county, Ohio, in 1819.

With the exception of an occasional member of the family who followed blacksmithing along with farming or kept an inn for a time every one in the direct line of all these families was a farmer. Most of them came from the Palatinate where their ancestors may have followed the same honorable occupation thirty or forty generations or more.

With no recorded exception all the families described here were loyal to the patriot cause during the Revolution and furnished their quotas in succeeding wars. Three descendants from the original Johannes Crone have won mention in *Who's Who*, Dr. William O. Krohn of Chicago, Mr. R. B. Crone, president of Hastings College, Nebraska and the writer. Among the best farmers of the west and middle west will be found many of the descendants of all the families herein described. For the most part they have been pioneers for four or five out of the seven generations they have been in this country. Pennsylvania-Dutch has been the native language up to the last two or three generations.

The Populist Party in Indiana

By ERNEST D. STEWART, A. M.

(Concluded.)

FUSION AND CONFUSION

By the year 1895 radicalism in the south and west was well under way. Among other factors, the panic of 1893, the shrinking of the gold reserve from 1893 to 1895, the demonetization of silver by India in June, 1893, and the failure of the corn crop of 1894, had sown dissension in the ranks of the Democrats and strengthened the forces of discontent. Cleveland was repudiated by the bulk of his party, his attitude toward free silver, made plain as far back as February, 1891 by his letter on free coinage, particularly alienating the free silver wing. A new democracy was arising, based on new ideas and looking for new leaders. The repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase law in October, 1893, was bitterly denounced as was also the Morgan-Belmont agreement in February, 1895, by which \$62,000,000 in gold was obtained from the bankers in payment for thirty-year four per cent bonds. As the campaign year of 1896 drew near, it was clearly foreseen that the free coinage of silver would be the one big issue. It was the subject on every one's lips; the newspapers were full of it. Again and again petitions were sent to congress praying for the passage of silver legislation, and free coinage bills were introduced into congress galore. In the face of the popular clamor, the Republicans and the conservative element among the Democrats were making strenuous but futile efforts to keep party issues confined to the Tariff. How blind and mistaken was their policy is shown by the reception given at Chicago in June, 1896, to Bryan's populist speech which stampeded the convention.

An important factor in the shaping of public opinion in favor of free coinage was the publication in 1894 of a pamphlet entitled *Coin's Financial School*. It purported to be

an account of a series of platform lectures delivered in Chicago by a young and brilliant financier, Coin, to a class of prominent local and national business men. By apt illustrations and well-turned remarks Coin answers their objections, parries their thrusts and overwhelms them with arguments in favor of free silver. There was much superficial reasoning and charlatanism, as well as much that was sound in the book, but it was read by farmers, laborers, business men, college professors, and it converted thousands.

In 1895 an extraordinary session of the State central committee was called for September 2. A. E. Taubeneck, of Illinois, the chairman of the national executive committee was present and made the principal address. The chief significance of the meeting lay in the platform which was formulated. This document in the main contained none but already well-worn populist doctrines. The free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 was demanded, as well as the issuance of legal tender treasury notes to the amount of \$50 per capita, a guaranteed income tax and the initiative and referendum. The issuance of interest bearing bonds and bank currency, the recent deal of the administration with the bankers and the decision against the income tax were bitterly denounced.⁴

There were rumors afloat at this meeting of fusion with the Prohibitionists, but even if the rumors were not exaggerated in the newspaper reports through political bias,⁵ there is nothing to indicate that they were anything more than the merest gossip.

For the campaign of 1896 the Populists in Indiana had a good State organization. Besides the State central committee, at the head of which was N. T. Butts¹ of Winchester with F. J. S. Robinson of Cloverland as secretary, there were local organizations in practically all of the counties. Never were prospects brighter for a Populist victory than in 1896. Among the Populist organs of the State should be mentioned *Nonconformist*,² the national organ of the party, located at Indian-

⁴ The Indianapolis *Journal*, Sept 3, 1895.

¹ Died in 1902.

² Moved from Kansas in 1890 by L. Vincent. The *Nonconformist* was destined for a checkered career. Vincent was succeeded as editor by L. S. Stockwell, who in time gave way to Claude X. Matthews. During the fall of 1896 Matthews was ousted.

apolis, the *Referendum* at Shoals, edited by N. H. Motsinger, and the *Logansport Advance*, edited by A. N. Roup.³

While the question of fusion with the Prohibitionists was insignificant, one of the great issues confronting the Populists in the late summer and fall of 1896 was the problem of amalgamation with the Democrats. In order to understand this development it will be necessary first, to say a word in regard to the respective national conventions of the Democrats and Populists, and second, to review briefly the events of the Populist State convention.

As has been pointed out the date of the national convention had been set for July 22, 1896. The time of meeting was purposely set for a date subsequent to the holding of the two other conventions in order for it to be ascertained what action the two old parties, particularly the Democrats, would take.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to give any detailed account of the proceedings at the Democratic convention at Chicago. The reader is familiar with the exciting events of that convention culminating in Bryan's dramatic speech which won for him the nomination. When the Populist convention met two weeks later it was found that there was no more desirable nor acceptable candidate among the Populists themselves than Bryan, the Democratic nominee. It was the nomination by the Democrats, however, of Arthur Sewall, a rich shipbuilder and ex-banker, for Vice-President which constituted the Gordian knot. Sewall was as much an object of hatred in the eyes of the Populists as Bryan was a Messiah.

Sewall being unacceptable the convention was obliged to look about for other vice-presidential timber. Mort C. Rankin, of Terre Haute, was the first to suggest to the convention the plan of nominating a southern man with Bryan,⁶ and S. W. Williams, of Vincennes, contributed the idea of reversing the usual order of procedure and nominating the Vice-President first.⁷ This was done in order to placate the "middle-of-the-road" element. The Bryan people were pacified by securing the permanent chairman. The man finally chosen

³ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Sept. 3, 1895.

⁵ The Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Sept. 3, 1895.

⁶ Indianapolis *Journal*, July 31, 1896.

⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, Aug. 1, 1896.

for Vice-President was Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia.⁸ Bryan was triumphantly nominated for President.

THE PROBLEM OF FUSION

It was under these circumstances that the Populist State convention met July 28 at Indianapolis. From the start it was seen that a struggle was to ensue between the fusionists and the anti-fusionists, or "middle-of-the-roaders" as they had come to be called. Upon the convention rested, to a great extent, the responsibility of deciding whether the party was to be absorbed by the Democrats or preserve its identity. The majority of the Populists, while flattered by the fact that the Democrats were now in a position where they must come to them on bended knees, and although naturally drawn to the Democrats because of common hostility toward the Republicans were afraid nevertheless that amalgamation with a third party would mean the death-blow of Populism.

Much was made by the enemies of the party of an agreement alleged to have been made at St. Louis between the Populists and Democrats. A speech made by D. H. Fernandes, of Anderson, State member of the national executive committee, setting forth a plan whereby the electors in the various States were to be Democratic or Populistic according to the strength of their respective parties, was magnified and construed by the Republicans to mean that the Populists were to be repaid for their nomination of Bryan by the withdrawal of Sewall.⁹

While there doubtless was an agreement made between the national committee of the two parties at St. Louis in regard to presidential electors, we may reject this second conclusion as an effort on the part of the Republicans to discredit both parties. What was particularly galling, the Republicans insinuated further that Sewall was not as distasteful to the Populists as they would have it believed.

All during the time of the convention the Democrats were hanging on the outskirts ready and willing to bargain. At one point in the deliberations Franklin Landers, former Democratic candidate for governor came forward and addressed the

⁸ Thomas E. Watson, of Thompson, Georgia, was born in 1856. He began the practice of law in 1876. He sat in the Georgia legislature 1882-83 and was a member of the Fifty-second congress as a Democrat.

⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 29, 1896.

convention in behalf of fusion. He pleaded for the endorsement by the Populists of the Democratic State ticket in return for which the Democrats would divide the legislative nominations so both could poll for a silver Senator.¹⁰ The Democrats also offered to divide the legislative ticket if the convention would adjourn without nominating.¹¹

The Populists were disposed to turn a cold shoulder to the advances of the Democrats. They realized, it was true, that both the Democrats and the Populists agreed on the vital issues. As a matter of fact, the only points on which they differed were those of government ownership, fiat paper money, and the sub-treasury plan. Then again fusion would mean no separate campaign fund since the Democrats would pay the expenses of speakers, etc.¹² On the other hand they saw that fusion would make it impossible for Populists to fight for local tickets, it would destroy the Populist press and in case of the election of Bryan would make it out of place for them to demand appointments.

It was evident that the Populists had the best of the bargain. The way affairs had shaped themselves, they had everything to gain and little to lose. It was the Democrats now whose turn it was to look well to their fences. This accounts for the serene attitude of the Populists in the convention and the speedy rout of the fusionists. It was small wonder that the efforts of the Democrats to prevent the setting up of a Populist State ticket and to get their own endorsed came to nothing. The case with reference to the presidential electors was no different, even though we leave out of account the Vice-Presidential imbroglio. By putting independent electoral tickets in the field it was possible for the Populists to deprive Bryan of a majority of the electors even though he had a majority of the aggregate vote.

With the exception of an anti-fusion plank declaring that "the People's party of Indiana is emphatically in favor of maintaining its organization national, State and local," there was little in the platform that was new.¹³

¹⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 29, 1896.

¹¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 29, 1896.

¹² *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 25, 1896.

¹³ The following are the more important planks in the platform:

The issuance of bonds and notes were emphatically denounced. The argument was advanced that a debt, represented by these issues, should never be

The sub-treasury plan, advocated in 1892 was not mentioned.

Although a plank which might be construed as anti-fusionist was adopted, the convention took one very important step toward amalgamation with the Democrats. The middle-of-the-roaders, who dominated the convention, had won out not only in getting a State ticket put up but also by defeating the plan of endorsing the Democratic platform. Partial success attended the efforts of their adversaries, however, when, near the close of the convention came the appointment of a conference committee to decide upon the selection of presidential electors.

On July 28, late in the day a resolution had been moved "that the convention appoint a conference committee, . . . to confer with the Democratic State central committee . . . to the end that we secure . . . the overthrow of the Republican party and the present gold standard." After a fight which lasted until one o'clock in the morning the resolution was lost and the following adopted: "Resolved, that this convention appoint a committee consisting of one in each congressional district to have power to act for this convention in the

made the basis of a circulating medium since the medium as money can never be equal except for a short time to the debt. The debt increases through the accumulation of interest and the medium decreased by wear and tear.

As an alternative to the above financial policy the unrestricted coinage of gold and silver was demanded at the ratio of 16 to 1.

Other demands were, the ownership and operation of all natural monopolies, railroads, telegraph, telephone, etc., by the government, the initiative and referendum, industrial arbitration and the increase of the volume of money to correspond to the needs of business.

The old demand for exemption of bona-fide indebtedness from taxation was reiterated together with equal representation of all parties on election boards. The party also declared in favor of the reduction of officials' salaries to correspond to the fall in prices, the enforcement of the laws prohibiting child labor, and the granting of contracts for public printing to the lowest bidder except where the lowest bidder employed non-union labor.

After some little difficulty in finding candidates the following ticket was made out:

For governor, Rev. Thomas Wadsworth, of Ragslesville; lieutenant-governor, A. P. Hanna, of Waveland; auditor of state, N. M. Jennings, of Franklin; secretary of state, Silas M. Holcomb, of Gibson county; treasurer of state, F. J. S. Robinson, of Cloverland; attorney-general, D. H. Fernandes, of Anderson; reporter of the supreme court, Thomas W. Force, Loogootee; state statistician, J. S. McKever, of the Third district; superintendent of public instruction, J. B. Freeman, of Guy; appellate judges, A. J. Padgett, of Washington; Nelson Bosard, of Valparaiso; Adam Stockinger, of Versailles; N. Pierce, of Terre Haute; John Thornburg, of Anderson.

Indianapolis *Sentinel*, July 29, 1896.

matter of presidential electors, each district delegation to select its own representative."

This was the famous "committee of thirteen" about which the storm centered during the summer and fall.¹⁴

The situation created by the course of events at the convention continued up until September when the next important developments took place. Meanwhile the political pot was bubbling merrily throughout the State. Everywhere the question of fusion was the paramount issue. In some localities the tendency among the Populists was to hold aloof. At Kokomo, at Brazil, and at Rockport the Democrats tried in vain to induce the Populists to fuse.¹⁵ At Anderson the Populists refused to join a Bryan and Sewall club but formed a Bryan and Watson club instead.¹⁶ The middle-of-the-road faction was too strong for fusion at Thorntown and in the face of opposition continued to run W. B. Gill, of Montgomery, as the senatorial candidate.¹⁷

On the other hand most localities succumbed to fusion. The party at Shelbyville did not put out a separate county ticket but supported the Democrats. There was a bitter contest on at Shelbyville between C. A. Robinson, president of the F. M. B. A., and George H. Puntenny, of Rush county, the Democratic candidate for congress, yet in the course of the campaign Robinson did not disdain to speak at a Democratic meeting.¹⁸

The machinery set up by the State convention for coming to an agreement with the Democrats in regard to presidential electors got in motion when on September 17 sub-committees from both the Populist and Democratic parties met in conference. The original committee of thirteen, appointed by the convention had selected in turn a sub-committee of three. As the basis of their demands the Populists were armed with the outline of an agreement formulated by S. W. Williams, of

¹⁴ The following were the men appointed on this committee: P. H. Carroll, Evansville; Allie Bunker, Worthington; F. M. Garriett, Little York; Richard Gregg, Aurora; A. T. Keightler, Greencastle; Sam Walker, Charlottesville; W. F. Polk, Franklin; N. T. Butts, Winchester; A. G. Burkhardt, Tipton; H. D. Craig, Rensselaer; Julius Rosenheiner, Center; Charles Morgan, Metz; L. W. Hubbell, Francisville. Julius Rosenheiner was chairman of the committee.

¹⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 10, Aug. 21 and 31, 1896.

¹⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 14, 1896.

¹⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 17, 1896. Gill was elected, the only Indiana State senator to be elected by the party in the course of its existence.

¹⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 17, 1896.

Vincennes.¹⁹ The heads of this proposal were: (1) It was understood that William J. Bryan was the Populist candidate for President and Thomas E. Watson the candidate for Vice-President; that Bryan was the Democratic candidate for President and Arthur Sewall the candidate for Vice-President. (2) That there were to be the same and identical names of electors on both tickets. (3) That each party was to select one-half of the electoral candidates: the Populists those in districts with even numbers and the Democrats those in districts with odd numbers. (4) That after the election and prior to the State meeting of electors a committee of four count the electors voted for under the Bryan and Sewall column and then those under the Bryan and Watson column. As between Sewall and Watson the largest Bryan electoral vote was to elect.²⁰

To meet this proposition the Democrats had no better offer than the yielding of four electors provided the Populists would withdraw their State ticket. The Populists met this by contending that the State convention had delegated to the committee of thirteen, power only in regard to electors. Therefore they had no authority to withdraw the State ticket.²¹ In the same way the Democrats met the demand for the withdrawal of Sewall by arguing that the Democratic State committee had no authority over Sewall. In spite of what the Populists had said in regard to their State ticket they offered to withdraw it provided they might have all fifteen electors. This proposal the Democrats rejected. After an evening's haggling the two parties were no nearer an agreement than before.²²

The above was the work of a committee of three appointed by the committee of thirteen. Later in the evening the latter met and appointed a committee of five,²³ to try to get better terms with the Democrats. They were instructed to reject any offer so long as Sewall remained on the ticket.²⁴

At this point a scandal arose through reports that influen-

¹⁹ Populist candidate for Vice-President in 1908; at present (1917) deceased.

²⁰ *The Shoals Referendum*, Aug. 13, 1896.

²¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 18, 1896.

²² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 18, 1896.

²³ The members of this committee were: A. G. Burkhart, Simon Walker, Julius Rosenheiner, C. F. Folk, and L. W. Hubbell. None of these men were fusionists.

²⁴ *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 18, 1896.

tial Populists, particularly members of the committee of thirteen, were being bribed by the Republicans to use their influence in preventing fusion. Silas M. Shepherd, it was said, was approached by a man who offered him a generous salary for such services. L. W. Hubbell, of Pulaski county, and Julius Rosenheiner, it was alleged, were also approached. Naturally, most of the charges appeared in the *Sentinel* while the *Journal* was silent on the subject. However, the *News*, the independent organ, came out on September 20 with a bitter editorial denouncing the attempted corruption.

Thus the whole affair hung fire until the last of September. The Populists seemed to know their mind well in regard to one thing at least and that was that they would not support Sewall. To a man the party supported the *Nonconformist* in its stand that Sewall get off the ticket.²⁵ One reason for this attitude was that fusion meant repudiation of Watson. The attitude of Watson toward the whole fusion movement, more or less prevalent over the whole country, can well be imagined.²⁶ In a telegram sent to Governor Claude X. Matthews, Watson had said, "On principle I am dead against fusion with Sewall electors. Where I submit to fusion I do so under protest."²⁷

The explanation of the Democratic overtures is, that they felt themselves in pretty much of a dilemma. Watson was as obnoxious to them as Sewall was to the Populists. Then, too, they were loath to repudiate Sewall since he was the only real Democrat on the ticket, even barring his protectionist proclivities. On the other hand, alienation of the third party men in the close States would be very apt to mean a Democratic defeat.

Nor were the Populists insensible of the gravity of the situation from their point of view. They realized that fusion would make strong the chances of Bryan's election, resulting in the partial triumph of their principles. But they realized, too, that partial success meant total oblivion so far as their independent party existence was concerned. Fusion meant that all would be staked on the election of Bryan.

Whatever the considerations, within two weeks after the

²⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, Sept. 17, 1896.

²⁶ It was said that Indiana, by Sept. 30, was the only State in the Union in which fusion had not been accomplished. Indianapolis *Journal*, Sept. 30, 1896.

²⁷ Indianapolis *News*, Sept. 30, 1896.

last meeting of the conference committee a change of heart had come over the leaders sufficient to cause them to listen more willingly to the overtures of the Democrats.²⁸

Definite but not final action was taken September 29. The agreement then entered into had to do only with presidential electors. The State tickets of both parties were not affected.²⁹ The conference committees of the two parties decided that the electoral ticket was to be made up of ten Democrats and five Populists,³⁰ the same and identical names appearing under both the rooster and the plow and hammer.³¹

These arrangements, it must be understood, were not as yet ratified by the Democratic State committee. In one sense they may be considered final inasmuch as they were not subsequently changed yet the Democrats were not satisfied. Though urged by Chairman Jones, of the Democratic national committee, to accept the terms of fusion offered, the committee still declined because the Populist State ticket remained up.³² It is not surprising, therefore, that the next ten days saw strenuous efforts put forth by the Democrats towards inducing the Populists to withdraw their State ticket. Numerous conferences in committee were held and the air was thick with political intrigue. The Populists were given to understand that they could hope for no further concessions as long as their State ticket was up. On this point the Democratic reasoning was as follows: In 1894 the Democrats cast 238,000 votes in Indiana, the Populists cast 30,000, about one-eighth as many; yet the Populists wanted one-third of the electors when they already had more than one-third of the congressional nominees, and in the legislature fusions in every case had the best of the bargain.

²⁸ The negotiations were conducted on the Democratic side by a campaign committee consisting of the following members: Governor Claude X. Matthews, Thomas Taggart, James Murdock, John E. Lamb, D. F. Allen. *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 28, 1896.

²⁹ At the eleventh hour an effort was made by some one to withdraw the Populist State ticket. Since the only way this could be done was by the resignation of the candidates, the convention not having delegated this power to any committee, the result was a flat failure. *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 29, 1896.

³⁰ James W. Hanson, Dem.; E. A. Riggins, Pop.; G. B. McIntire, Dem.; Thomas Cope, Pop.; D. E. Williamson, Dem.; G. W. Pigman, Dem.; M. Donnelly, Dem.; B. H. Campbell, Dem.; W. C. Smith, Dem.; J. W. Pierce, Pop.; M. H. Kidd, Dem.; F. B. Van Auken, Dem.; J. S. Bender, Pop. Electors at large, J. B. Stahl, Dem.; P. D. Drain, Pop. *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 30, 1896.

³¹ *Shoals Referendum*, Oct. 22, 1896.

³² *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 5, 1896.

The fusionists left no stone unturned in trying to prevail upon the candidates on the State ticket to withdraw. On October 8, Julius Rosenheiner, the new chairman of the State committee called the State executive committee and the candidates together at the English Hotel. Here M. C. Rankin endeavored to persuade the candidates to withdraw. He pointed out that if the State ticket came down five of the Bryan electors would give way to five straight Populists. Threats and pressure of various sorts proving unavailing it was arranged to have the candidates call on W. J. Bryan who, on his presidential campaign tour through the State, happened to be in Indianapolis at the time. Although Bryan at his hotel had retired for the night at ten o'clock, the candidates were taken into his presence and briefly addressed by him.³³ Bryan's remarks were characteristic. He said the work of fusion, begun at St. Louis, had been completed in every State except Indiana. Nothing should stand in the way, he said, of unity and harmony of the forces fighting the battles of the people against the gold standard.

After this talk with Bryan the candidates were requested to confer among themselves and then say definitely what action they would take.³⁴ The whole proceeding failed to impress them.

All efforts to put the State ticket out of the way was cut short when, on October 8, Silas M. Holcomb, the Populist candidate for secretary of state, filed in the governor's office the certificates of nomination. A few days later the electoral ticket of ten Democrats and five Populists was filed. Thus the only possible way in which the State ticket could be disposed of was by the resignation of the candidates. Naturally this could hardly be expected, since the candidates were practically all middle-of-the-road men.³⁵

The filing of the certificates of nomination threw the Democrats into a new dilemma. The acceptance of the combination Populist ticket would be greatly to their advantage, inasmuch as many voters, wishing to vote for the five Populist electors would at the same time vote a straight ticket under the rooster, thereby giving the Democratic State ticket the

³³ This is familiarly known as the "bedroom conference."

³⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 7, 1896.

³⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 5, 1896.

benefit. On the other hand if the Populist electoral ticket were rejected, each party putting up straight tickets, many Populists having no incentive now for marking the ballot under the rooster would vote a straight ticket under the plow and hammer thereby giving the Populist State ticket the benefit.

But there was still another consideration. The acceptance of fusion would alienate votes from Bryan and Sewall since many persons would not vote a ticket with Populist names on it.³⁶

Meanwhile the question of fusion continued the one big issue throughout the State. At Marion fusion was accomplished by the nomination of two Democratic senators, three Democratic representatives and two Populist representatives.³⁷ By October 10, fusion had been accomplished in every one of the close legislative districts.³⁸ However, the faithful in a few localities held out. In spite of the efforts of Julius Rosenheiner and Mort C. Rankin the Populists at Evansville declined to fuse.³⁹ But such cases were few and isolated. Fusion was the order of the day.

Now that fusion had been accomplished, various were the characterizations of it by its enemies and bitter were the denunciations heaped upon the leaders who had brought it about. The partial fusion in the matter of the presidential electors and the outright amalgamation in many local districts were said to be the shameless work of mercenary leaders and not of the masses.⁴⁰ The middle-of-the-road men led by Claude X. Matthews, the editor of the *Nonconformist*, the national organ of the party, declared that fusion was a mercantile betrayal of Watson at the behest of the national committee.⁴¹

Another charge was that the fusion which had taken place was illegal. On the Populist ticket it was pointed out were ten names never nominated by a Populist convention and on the Democratic ticket were five names never nominated by a Democratic convention. There were three ways only, it was contended, in which a ticket could be nominated: by a nominating convention, with the ticket certified by the chairman

³⁶ Indianapolis *Journal*, Oct. 9, 1896.

³⁸ Indianapolis *Journal*, Oct. 10, 1896.

³⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, Oct. 11, 1896.

³⁹ Indianapolis *Journal*, Oct. 10, 1896.

⁴⁰ Indianapolis *Journal*, Oct. 3, 1896.

⁴¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, Oct. 5, 1896.

and the secretary of the convention; by a primary election ticket certified by the chairman and the secretary of the county committee; or by a petition containing at least five hundred names.

Then again, the fact that there were names appearing twice on the ballot—once in the Populist column and once in the Democratic column—was urged as a violation of Section 19 of the election law which provided that the name of no candidate appear on two tickets or on the ballot in two places.⁴²

The whole matter was a knotty problem without exact precedent and one which presented many difficulties. No legal action was ever taken to determine the illegality of the fusionist arrangements and so the situation was allowed to drift until election day.⁴³

The results of the election held November 3 were awaited with the keenest interest. Party feeling ran high and there was much excitement. It was the fad among the farmers in various parts of the State to put up signs in front of their homes bearing the motto, "16-to-1."⁴⁴ The widespread interest in the issues involved, and the publicity given to political affairs by the dickering and haggling over fusion, brought out an unusually full vote. The returns on the Populist State ticket, however, were disappointing. Scarcely one-fourth of the Populists voted the middle-of-the-road State ticket, although all voted for Bryan and for the fusionist county ticket.⁴⁵ Thomas Wadsworth, the candidate for governor, received only 8,626 votes, about 1.3 per cent. of the total. The vote cast for the other candidates did not vary much from that figure. In the legislative districts, as the result of fusion, the Populists achieved some successes. They managed to elect one State senator, W. B. Gill, and sent eight representatives to the lower house.⁴⁶ In the secretary of state's abstract of vote all these men were listed as Democrats.

When the smoke of battle cleared after the election the Populists shared with the Democrats a feeling of chagrin.

⁴² *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 5, 1896.

⁴³ The next year the legislature passed an act definitely making such fusion in the future illegal.

⁴⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 15, 1896.

⁴⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 9, 1896.

⁴⁶ These men were John C. Engle, David Haifly, David D. Hart, George J. Kayser, Richard Mieler, Sanford Patterson, Albert Schoonover, Sylvester V. Titus. Abstract of vote, *Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1896. Part I.

Twenty-five thousand votes properly distributed would have given the election to Bryan and assured the victory of populist ideas.⁴⁷ Again, many Populists were not feeling quite right in regard to fusion. More and more they came to realize, a conviction strengthened by the later history of the radical movement, that fusion with the Democrats in 1896 sounded the death knell of the party. Never again did the Populists have the vitality, the courage and the strength of the earlier years.

However, after the election the workers in the movement, undaunted, proceeded to reorganize and take stock of their forces. The fight for free silver, they felt, must go on. In response to a call to all silver advocates about seventy delegates gathered in conference on December 29 at the Hotel English, Indianapolis.⁴⁸ The chief feature of the meeting was the skirmishing between the fusionists headed by Julius Rosenheiner and the middle-of-the-roaders led by Newell H. Motsinger. Rosenheiner had taken care that the call was cleverly worded so as to apply "to all silver advocates," consequently many "half-breeds" were present. Motsinger, always spoiling for a fight, led the attack on Rosenheiner with a view to procuring his resignation from the office of chairman of the State committee. Rosenheiner only sat tight, however, reminding his foes that he was on the job to stay until 1898. Consequently the Motsinger forces were defeated. A set of harmless resolutions mainly educational in their nature were adopted to the effect that "all organizations of whatever name or party, having the same patriotic purposes ought to be encouraged" and that clubs be formed throughout the State without reference to party affiliations for the purpose of studying economic questions.⁴⁹ Motsinger insisted on having these called the "People's party clubs" but was outvoted. The trend of the meeting is apparent. From now on until the day of its gradual decay and death, the People's party was to be torn by two factions, the middle-of-the-roaders and the fusionists.

⁴⁷ Shoals *Referendum*, Dec. 10, 1896.

⁴⁸ Indianapolis *News*, Dec. 29, 1896.

⁴⁹ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Dec. 30, 1896.

THE LAST STAGES: 1898, 1900, AND 1902

After 1896 the decline of the People's party was rapid. The party, torn by internal dissensions, saw its following melt away, the individuals, for the most part, returning whence they came. However, after the wreck of 1896, the more optimistic element in the party looked forward with high hopes to the election of 1900. Bryan, they thought, coming so near the presidency in 1896 would acquire a strength by 1900 sufficient for his triumph. In the years from 1896 to 1900, however, conditions arose which conspired to disappoint them. Beginning with 1896 a tide of prosperity set in which cut the ground from under the Populists' feet. The pendulum was now on the return swing. Prices rose and trade assumed normal proportions. The discovery of gold in Alaska assured an abundant supply of money and robbed of its point the strongest plank in the Populist platform. Consequently the emphasis in the later history of the party ceased to be on economic matters but instead the main issues came to be political. The initiative and referendum especially came in for a large share of attention as did also woman's suffrage and the direct election of public officials. Within the party itself the great disrupting influence was the question of fusion.

In the State convention of 1898,¹ held on February 22, a fight early developed between the middle-of-the-roaders and the fusionists. The former faction was led by Newell H. Motsinger, editor of the *Shoals Referendum*, while the fusionists were ably headed by Julius Rosenheiner, chairman of the State central committee.² Motsinger came to the convention with a solid delegation of one hundred and seventeen men at his back.³ In securing this following he had shrewdly taken advantage of a loophole in the call. The call, instead of basing the representation in the convention upon the Populist vote in previous years, permitted the attendance of one delegate from each township and ward.⁴ Motsinger by more strictly and efficiently complying with the terms of the call than the leaders in the other districts, was able to secure a disproportion-

¹ The Indianapolis *Journal* characterized the delegates to this convention as "derelicts of an organization that is fast disappearing."

² Indianapolis *Journal*, Feb. 23, 1898.

³ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Feb. 23, 1898.

⁴ Indianapolis *Journal*, Feb. 23, 1898.

ate representation that dominated the convention. The middle-of-the-roaders were intent upon the accomplishment of two things. In the first place they wanted to get rid of the then sitting national committeemen, D. H. Fernandes, Joshua Strange and W. S. Austin, who had been connected with the disastrous deal with the Democrats in 1896. These men were wanted off the national committee in order to make way for others who would help reorganize the committee against Butler and Bryan. The right to do this was based on a resolution of the national convention allowing State conventions to elect committees.⁵ The ideal of the middle-of-the-roaders was a straight national ticket in 1900. Then, secondly, they wanted a resolution against fusion on State, county, and township tickets.⁶ Fusion, they claimed would lead to the further ruin of the party; at any rate, if it was to be taken up at all it was a question to be decided by the counties and local districts. These units knew what was best for them, and the State convention had no right to interfere with their affairs.⁷

The matter of the national committeemen was finally settled by the re-election of Joshua Strange and W. S. Austin and the election of A. G. Burkhardt to take the place of D. H. Fernandes. Two fusionists were thus left on the committee, yet it was practically a victory for Motsinger. The whole affair simply amounted to the ditching of Fernandes.⁸

Co-workers with Rosenheiner in opposition to the anti-fusionists were Editor Vincent of the *Nonconformist*, and S. M. Shepard. The fusionists believed in keeping up the party organization, but in using it mainly as a club to enforce Democratic compliance. This was the stand taken by Marion Butler, the national chairman.

The platform as adopted consisted of the following planks:

The Omaha and St. Louis platforms were reaffirmed. The initiative and referendum, woman's suffrage and the abolition of the liquor traffic⁹ were demanded. Legislative regulation and radical reduction of the telegraph and telephone tolls

⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 22, 1898.

⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 22, 1898.

⁷ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Feb. 23, 1898. From Democratic sources one hears charges that Motsinger was taking his course through bribery and that the delegation with which he packed the convention were paid Republicans. In *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Feb. 22 and 23, 1898.

⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 22 and 23, 1898.

⁹ Accomplished by the Legislature of 1917.

within the State was favored, as was also the reduction of railroad passenger rates to two cents a mile.¹⁰ The abolition of the practice of issuing money to national banks was called for.¹¹ The convention also demanded a maximum legal rate of interest of six per cent. Further, it expressed itself as opposed to "government by injunction" and in favor of the election of federal judges by direct vote of the people. Other demands were, that county school superintendents be elected by popular vote, that the soldiers be paid the difference between the money they were paid in and coin and that public printing be let to the lowest bidder. One plank in the platform denounced the Republican administration for its indifference in Cuba, whose independence was demanded. In regard to the old demand for free coinage of silver, a plank bordering upon evasiveness was adopted. The Populist party was declared "the only party in the United States which was a unit for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1." Harmless as this declaration was, the Motsinger faction tried its best to keep it out.¹²

Motsinger and his followers were successful, however, in pushing through a qualified anti-fusion plank. Under his lead the committee on resolutions submitted a minority report recommending that a straight Populist State ticket be put out carrying simon pure candidates under the party's name and emblem. Before adoption it was amended to the effect that "Populists in cities, counties and townships may unite with other persons to defeat dishonest and incompetent officials."¹³ The virus of fusion it seems could not be eliminated.

The ticket put out by the convention was as follows:

Secretary of State, Dr. H. H. Morrison, of Greencastle;

Auditor of State, W. H. H. Parks, of Bloomington;

Treasurer of State, Frank M. Brown, of Sullivan;

Attorney-General, Tillman P. Ballard, of Montgomery county;

Clerk of the Supreme Court, Robert W. Todd, of Miami;

Superintendent of Public Instruction, Edward Packard, of Winamac;

Geologist, J. H. Allen, of Terre Haute;

Statistician, L. C. Adams, of Harrison county.

¹⁰ Enacted into law in 1907.

¹¹ This plank took the place of one stricken out. The original plank provided for the issuing of money by the government at one per cent on farm mortgages to the amount of one-third the cash value of the lands. Such mortgage notes were to be legal tender for all debts, public and private.

¹² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Feb. 23, 1898.

¹³ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Feb. 23, 1898.

The nomination of supreme and appellate court judges was left to the State committee. Such was the ticket nominated by the State convention of 1898.¹⁴

In the period which elapsed between the convention and the election but few developments of any great importance took place within the State.¹⁵ In the ensuing election, November 8, the vote on the Populist ticket was light, Morrison receiving but 5,867 votes.¹⁶ For the first time the Populists dropped behind the Prohibitionists, whose vote totaled 9,961. From a vote of less than three hundred in 1896, the Socialists in this election rose to a strength of 1,795. Defection of Populists to their ranks may have caused a slight falling off in the Populist vote, though in view of the smallness of the vote of both parties this consideration possesses little importance.

THE STATE CONVENTION OF 1900

Like the convention of 1898, the State convention in 1900 was held on the anniversary of Washington's birth, and in the declaration of principles which it drew up were included many of the former conventions' demands. For the first time in the history of the party, every district in the State was represented.¹ The demands with respect to allegiance to the Omaha and St. Louis platforms, the initiative and referendum, free coinage, hostility to national banks, pensions, the economical administration of State affairs, public printing and the election of county superintendents were reiterated. In addition, there were planks demanding the direct election of the President and Vice-President, the municipal ownership of public utilities, the acceptance of nominations by public letter, stricter enforcement of the factory and eight-hour laws, and local self-government for the Philippines. The former items of woman's suffrage, two-cent passenger fare, exemption from bonafide indebtedness, six per cent interest, abolition of the liquor traffic, direct election of federal judges, the Cuban

¹⁴ The Democratic convention was held June 21, the Republican on Aug. 3.

¹⁵ At Cincinnati, however, on Sept. 4, two years ahead of time, a presidential nominating convention of the party was held. Wharton Barker was nominated for President and Ignatius Donnelly for Vice-President. The middle-of-the-roads controlled the convention. The most bitter denunciation was heaped upon Marion C. Butler as the man who sold out the Populists in 1896. Butler and his faction withdrew from the convention. The events were a fitting prelude to the schism of 1900.

¹⁶ Report of the Secretary of State, *Documentary Journal* for 1898.

¹ *Indianapolis News*, Feb. 22, 1900.

question, and fusion, were not mentioned. There was good reason for silence on the subject of exemption from indebtedness. The legislature of 1899, yielding at least to popular pressure, passed an act exempting mortgages from taxation to the amount of \$700.

Few of the old leaders' names appear on the ticket. The name of A. G. Burkhardt, the candidate for Governor, is the only one familiar from association with the early deliberations of the party. The remainder of the ticket was as follows:²

Lieutenant-Governor, C. M. Walter;
Secretary of State, W. T. Carmichael;
Auditor of State, John W. Wales;
Attorney-General, G. F. Boyer;
Reporter of Supreme Court, Charles E. Hoffman;
Superintendent of Public Instruction, William P. Beasley;
State Statistician, A. L. D. Grindle.

The nomination of the judicial officers was left to the State central committee.

THE SPLIT IN THE PARTY

The year 1900 in the history of the Populist party was characterized by internal dissensions resulting in a schism which was never healed. As in 1898, the disturbing factor was the question of fusion. The struggle was precipitated at the meeting of the national committee at Lincoln, Neb., on February 19. The efforts of the fusionists to exclude members and their proxies who, as delegates in the Cincinnati convention of 1898, had voted for Barker and Donnelly, led to the walk-out of J. A. Parker, of Kentucky, followed by four proxies.³ The result was that 1900 saw two Populist national conventions—one at Cincinnati, Ohio, held May 9, and one at Sioux Falls, S. D., on the same date. The middle-of-the-roaders, at Cincinnati,⁴ renominated Barker and Don-

² *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 23, 1900.

³ *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 20, 1900.

⁴ The platform constructed at Cincinnati convention was made up of the following planks:

The initiative, referendum and recall, government ownership of natural monopolies, the income and inheritance tax, and the direct election of the President and Vice-President, federal judges and United States Senators were advocated. The convention also declared for the issuance of irredeemable paper money based upon the wealth and resources of the country with free coinage until the adoption of such a policy. Railroad, corporational, and alien ownership of land was denounced. The solution of the trust problem was said to consist in the public ownership of public utilities. *Indianapolis Journal*, May 11, 1900.

nely, while the fusionists, at Sioux Falls,⁵ put up W. J. Bryan and Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota.⁶

It would be tedious and unprofitable to give a detailed account of the further activities of the party in the period from 1900 until its lingering death, a few years later. State conventions were regularly held up to 1908, candidates nominated and platforms constructed. The party's demands continued in the same strain as before—governmental reform, greater power for the people, denunciation of monopoly in all its forms, and justice to labor. The following of the party gradually dwindled away until only a few faithfuls remained. In 1902 the vote cast for the head of the ticket, William B. Gill,⁷ was only 1,350. In 1904 Leroy Templeton, for Governor, rallied 2,065 voters to his standard, but in 1906 the following of John W. Clark, the candidate for secretary of state, sank to 972. The number of votes polled by Benjamin F. Wheeler in 1908 was but 1,193.⁸

A noteworthy plank in the platform of 1902 demanded that the legislature, under Article V of the Federal Constitution, force the calling of a national constitutional amendment to provide for the election of United States senators by direct vote and to allow a tax on incomes. Both these demands materialized a decade later.

CONCLUSION

The Populist party may be considered a phase of that radicalism in American politics which began in the Granger movement of the seventies and eighties, and which found its latest expression in the Progressive party of 1912. The

⁵ This convention drew up a platform of numerous and varied principles. The usual principles in regard to land, labor, money and government control of natural monopolies were set forth. The initiative and referendum, and the free coinage of silver were called for. Imperialism, customs duties in Porto Rico and militarism were denounced. The assembly agreed with the Cincinnati convention in that the solution of the trust problem was the public ownership of utilities. Another declaration demanded the abolition of all tariffs on goods controlled by trusts. *Indianapolis Journal*, May 11, 1900.

⁶ Charles A. Towne was born in Ingham county, Michigan, in 1859. He graduated from the University of Michigan in the academic and law courses. After practicing law for a time at Marquette, Michigan, he went to Duluth, Minnesota, in 1890. Until 1896 he was a Republican.

⁷ Populist State Senator in 1896.

⁸ These figures are taken from Reports of the Secretary of State in the *Documentary Journals* for the years indicated.

main issues of the Grangers were "reform" and railroad legislation; of the Greenbackers, "reform" and fiat money. Combining these principles into a single movement, the Populists added others which, in time, constituted the chief demands of the Progressives. The direct election of United States senators, the initiative and referendum, woman's suffrage and the inheritance and income tax—the most important planks in the Progressive platform—were all old Populist demands.

Indirectly the Populist party was the successor to the earlier Greenback and the Union Labor parties, but directly it was the outgrowth of the Farmers' Alliance. The Alliance, after having tried in vain to graft itself into one of the old parties entered independently into the political field. The Populist party was the result. The other agrarian organizations were so far eclipsed by the alliance that their influence was almost negligible, yet an important relation existed. H. E. Taubeneck, speaking, in 1891, said:

The Alliance, the F.M.B.A., the Grange, the Knights of Labor are nothing more or less than industrial schools whose one object is to teach to the industrial masses the principles of economic government that we call for. All of these organizations are working for a common end and the People's party reaches out and takes them all in. The People's party most certainly expects to get out a national ticket and it will receive hearty support from Alliance men and members of the F.M.B.A. This can be done and still these organizations will retain their individuality and separate organizations.⁹

As a matter of fact, as later events proved, these organizations did not retain their individuality, the Alliance, particularly, being wrecked on the rocks of party politics.

The Populist party was pre-eminently a farmers' party. Because of the superficial resemblance between the demands of the farmers and those of the laborers, efforts were made to include in the movement the labor element. But such an alliance was necessarily doomed to early dissolution. The fundamental differences between the two classes were too great and the common interests too few to admit of complete amalgamation. In fact, labor leaders openly objected to participating in the Alliance on the ground that it was too agricultural. What the Populist party lacked in the view of the

⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 16, 1891.

laborers the Socialist party supplied. Hence, in the middle nineties one sees the beginnings of a new party, the party of the wage-earner, which within a few years grew to a strength rivalling that of the Populist party in its palmyest days. Significant, and more than a mere coincidence, is the fact that simultaneously with the decline of Populism occurred the rise of Socialism.

While there was doubtless much that was unsound in Populism, the importance of the movement is best shown by the fact that the wildest dreams of the Populists of yesterday have become the commonplaces of today. Many of their demands, if not actually matters of legal enactment, at least hold a favorable place in public opinion. Debtors' exemption from taxation, the income tax, postal savings banks, the initiative and referendum, direct election of United States senators, the inheritance tax, industrial arbitration, municipal ownership, six per cent legal interest, woman's suffrage—all important and persistent planks in the Populists' platforms—are now incorporated into either State or national law. Even the sub-treasury plan, considered at the time the most radical and absurd of the farmers' ideas, finds a present-day counterpart in the farm loan and credit act of 1916. Though differing in method, the two plans aim to accomplish much the same thing, and strike at the same weakness in our agricultural system.

Whatever our political convictions by nature or nurture, we cannot doubt the sincerity of the Populist movement. The men in 1890 who launched the new party were convinced that a real danger threatened the republic. Though their action was inspired by the interests of a class, that class, to their mind, constituted the backbone and hope of the nation. It was the battle of the masses against the selfish interests of the few.

Reviews and Notes

Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. 6, No. 3. *Early Indiana Trails and Surveys*. By GEORGE R. WILSON, C. E., Indianapolis, 1919; pp. 105. Price 50c.

This is a most difficult piece of work to characterize. If it were all sketched on a large map of Indiana it would give us an invaluable pioneer map of the State. Mr. Wilson has gone over the surveyors' notes for the State, locating roads, trails, posts of all kinds, with distances and dates. In addition he has searched our pioneer literature and thereby identified many of the references of the surveyors. The monograph represents an enormous amount of tedious detail work; such, moreover, as only a practical surveyor could do. The footnotes not only give full source references but much additional information. Among the many traces located are the Buffalo trace, Vallonia trace, Blue River trace, Yellowbanks trail, Redbanks trail, Salt trace, Whetzel's trace. Part II of the work is devoted to the actual surveying, commencing with Clark's Grant surveyed by William Clark soon after the Greenville treaty down to the last surveys in the Kankakee swamps by Jeremiah Smith about 1835. It is a work of genuine scholarship, and it might be added there is very little of such work being done at present.

The Greater Patriotism. Public Addresses. By JOHN LEWIS GRIFFITHS, American Consul-General at London. Delivered in England and America. With a Memoir by CAROLINE HENDERSON GRIFFITH and an Introduction by HILAIRE BELLOC. London and New York, 1918, pp. 230.

There are included in the volume twenty-three speeches by Mr. Griffiths. Most interesting for Indiana readers are the addresses: Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Harrison, A Great Teacher (Catharine Merrill), Indiana, The American Spirit, The American in Fiction, and Nathan Morris. Most Indians will remember Mr. Griffiths as an extremely pleasing

political orator. There was no trace of bitterness in his political oratory. In this respect he much resembled William McKinley, R. W. Thompson or Henry S. Lane. He rarely if ever dealt in political partisanship and never descended to personalities. His reputation rests on his work as consul at London where he helped as much as any other individual except John Hay to clear away the national prejudices that had existed for a century between the English and Americans. His broad scholarship, especially in literary lines, fitted him especially for this position. It is to his credit that he secured and held the high esteem of the English without losing that of the Americans. From time to time he added new friends to his list but never at the sacrifice of the old. He was a loyal Hoosier, a loyal American, a loyal Anglo-American and a loyal Republican and never lost his loyalty to his home city of Indianapolis and his friends there in these wider loyalties.

The Life of John Worth Kern. By CLAUDE G. BOWERS. The Hollenbeck Press, Indianapolis, 1918, pp. xvi+475. Price \$3.00.

Senator Kern was born near Kokomo December 20, 1849 and died at a sanatorium in Asheville in the fall of 1917. His life was one long, unbroken political struggle. In that respect he has had few equals, beginning before he was old enough to vote, and ending with the day of his death. The rise and decline of the Greenback, Granger, Populist and Progressive parties fell within the active period of his career and though he sympathized with each he never broke connections with the Democratic party. He belonged to the army of the Regulars, though always, I think, a radical. He ran on the same ticket with Cleveland, with Bryan, with Parker and with Wilson. On this account he has been charged with a lack of integrity, or in other words with subordinating his principles to his desire for office. Such a charge is both unjust and unnecessary. He was a party man, a regular who fought under discipline. During the long period of his service he held office as Reporter of the Supreme Court, 1885-1889, State Senator, 1892-1896; United States senator 1911-1917, rewards entirely incommensurate with his long, loyal service to his party. Not only as a stump campaigner was Senator Kern available at all times,

but several times he was drafted by his party to lead a forlorn hope, the most thankless task in political life. The reviewer recalls an incident of the campaign of 1900. He was connected with the county Republican organization of one of the southern counties. A business meeting was in session and about 7:30 it was learned for the first time that Mr. Kern was to speak that night at the local opera house. The Republicans rushed their business through and attended the speaking in a body, in the meantime 25 or 30 local Republicans uniting with the crowd. After a very pleasant speech in which the Republican plutocrats were handled in the usual style a reception was held and I remember the amused expression of the face of Mr. Kern as he shook hands with Republican after Republican, the Democratic secretary being very careful in every case to tell the politics of each. After the reception a social good time of two hours was had with Mr. Kern chief entertainer. It was an intentional freeze-out by the Democratic organization but Mr. Kern, whatever he felt, showed no signs of displeasure or soreness.

The Democratic party has had since the Civil War, an unequal contest in Indiana. Throughout, Senator Kern has conducted himself in such a way as to retain the faith of his party friends and hold the personal friendship and good will of his opponents. He was a good fighter but uniformly fair, his influence and example always on the side of political morality. In the disgraceful senatorial election of 1909, although the victim of underhand politics, he preserved his good faith and honor, though one might wish he had shown as much zeal in hunting down the criminals as he did in the case of the election of Lorimer of Illinois. In extenuation it may be said that if there were any similarity between the two cases Mr. Kern was in a position to do his duty in the latter case and did it while in the former he was not. His service in the U. S. Senate was brief, 1911-1917, but long enough to earn a place with the best of Indiana senators. Whatever honor may attach to the work of the Wilson administration will be shared in large degree by Senator Kern. Any one acquainted with the political history of Congress knows what a difficult and thankless task it is to manage a party with a small majority. The reviewer spent two weeks in Washington early in 1917 investigating

some matters of historical interest in which he very much desired the assistance of Senator Kern and although he met the Senator several times and saw him often he never presented his letters of introduction or mentioned his business. Senator Kern seemed the busiest man in Washington and rarely slept over six hours, if so much, out of the twenty-four.

Mr. Bowers, the author of the book under review, is a well-known newspaper man of Indiana. For a quarter of a century he has been in close touch with Indiana politics. He was secretary to Senator Kern and in sympathy with the senator's views. While the whole volume is thus sympathetic there is no offensive partiality, no long arguments so often indulged in by apologists to prove his hero always in the right. The reviewer, as has been intimated, was not a follower of Senator Kern but he has not found a single expression in the volume at which offense could be taken. Mr. Bowers is a graceful writer, his style is clear and simple. The volume should rank with Mr. Foulke's *Life of Morton* as one of the two best contributions to Indiana biographical and political literature.

The Valley of Democracy. By MEREDITH NICHOLSON. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; 1918. p. 284. \$2.00.

This is a series of magazine articles dealing in a critical way with the life of the people of the Mississippi valley. There are six essays averaging 40 pages each. The whole series is tinged with a political cast which indirectly reflects the deep and consistent interest of the people in things political. In dealing with so large a unit the author necessarily uses wide generalizations each of which is open to grave exceptions. Time and again he insists on the conservatism of the people as a whole. How he arrives at his conclusions is not always shown. He points out that Grangers, Greenbackers, Populists and Progressives are all native to the place but continues that the West was merely flirting with these. As a matter of fact the dreams of the fathers are nearly always realized by the children and the visions of the agitators referred to above are practically all now on our state and national statute books. The author flits with grace from parlor car, summer resort

and city club to the serious conclusions of the western historians. One is left with the suspicion that somewhere in the background are the busy millions of whose busy life and thought these clubs, societies and activities are merely surface indications, merely driftwood on the current. For fear of being misunderstood, I quote "Mr. George Ade's Indiana farm is one of the State's show-places. The playwright and humorist says that its best feature is a good nine-hole golf course and a swimming pool" (p. 87). Again, "One night, a few years ago, on the breezy terrace of one of the handsomest villas in the lake region, I talked with the head of a great industry whose products are known round the world." It is hardly necessary to point out that conclusions drawn from such sources are liable to be over colored. The picture of Chicago is open to the same general objection. Chicago does not live on the boulevards nor sit in the music halls nor picture galleries. It lives in the smoke, grime and sweat of the factories and counting houses. The life of the west and of Chicago is not play but work, a hard continuous struggle. I have enjoyed the "big-brother" hospitality of Chicago but the west knows that Chicago takes a heavy toll of its manhood and womanhood as well as of its wealth. But these things can not all be told in a magazine article. Mr. Draper who, and not Dr. Thwaites, was the founder of the Wisconsin Historical library, spent a lifetime collecting materials for a history of the life of the west and the work is only begun. A careful study of this material would have so far improved Mr. Nicholson's perspective that all doubts of the continual improvement of the west would have disappeared. Its pulse is as strong and steady as ever and its home life, politics and general culture better as the years pass. It has its problems, many of which are national, and in the solution of these it has little regard for any other section. However, one may disagree with many of the statements Mr. Nicholson is a vigorous writer. His birds-eye review will arouse healthy thought. It is better perhaps to write of the more pleasant things even at the expense of fact, of the social settlement rather than of the slum, of George Ade's golf course and swimming pool than of the distressing tenements that still disfigure too many of our western farms.

The Citizen and the Republic. A Text Book in Government.
By JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Professor of American History, Indiana University and THOMAS FRANCIS MORAN, Professor of History and Economics, Purdue University. Longman's, Green and Co. New York, 1918; pp. 389+xiv.

This is a high school text following the general lines of the best teaching practice in civics. The authors have included what is best in the late tendency toward emphasizing local institutions without at the same time neglecting national institutions. The writers have resisted two well-defined departures in civic teaching which seem to have carried so many teachers beyond the point of good practice. One of these was to neglect the national field almost entirely in their zeal to be practical. The other was that government could be corrected and purified by devices. This resort to devices vitiated much of our teaching during the last decade. The authors emphasize the fact that the chiefest concern politically of all good citizens is in the national government and the other equally important fact that good government can not be had without social honesty and intelligence. The text begins with the citizen himself and gradually widens to the local, state and national governments. The volume is well-written, clear and full. Marginal texts, topical heads, suggestive questions and supplementary readings help to make it an attractive text for teacher and pupil. Sixty-four illustrations, many of them full page and twelve maps and charts assist greatly in giving definiteness to the topics. It should find wide use among up-to-date high schools.

Proceedings of the Thirty-ninth Annual Session of the Department of Indiana Grand Army of the Republic. Held at Logansport, Ind., June 5, 6, 7, 1918.

Samuel M. Hench was Department Commander. There are 262 posts now active in Indiana with 7,250 members. During the year 626 deaths were reported. The *Proceedings* contains a list of the Posts, location and officers, together with a list of those who have died during the year. Perhaps no citizens of our State have been more pleased than the veterans

of the Civil war to see their grandsons uphold in Europe the best traditions of our armies.

A Brief History of Mooresville and Vicinity. By ALMIRA HARVEY HADLEY, p. 24, 1918. Mooresville.

The chapter heads are "Local Pioneer History and Reminiscences," "Mills," "Schools," "The First Library," "Churches," "Fairs" and "Barbecues." The author writes largely from her own personal knowledge and from information had direct from the pioneers. Her father came to Mooresville in 1830, when he was 11 years old. The whole story is circumstantial and interesting. The community is fortunate in having its early history so well told. Every school child of Mooresville ought to have a copy as a keepsake to make it appreciate the struggles necessary to found and develop the society it enjoys.

Possibilities in State Historical Celebrations by Harlow Lindley is a separate from the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*. It deals with the experience of the State commission during the year 1916.

The Catholic Historical Review for January has an article on the Gallipolis colony, by Lawrence J. Kenney. This is an exceptionally good article from the standpoint of history and contains a full bibliography of the famous French settlement.

WAR HISTORIES

Most of the State libraries have definite plans arranged for gathering historical materials relating to the war just closed. Indiana has started a movement for this purpose and Dr. Oliver of Wisconsin has been secured to do the work. Many counties in the State are preparing to publish county histories covering the war activities.

Military Life at Indiana University is the title of a 23 page pamphlet by Ralph L. Rusk, Instructor in English, at Indiana University, published by the University. Beginning with 1840 the author includes in his sketch the various at-

tempts to install a course of military instruction in the University. Most of the pamphlet deals with the work of the Reserve Officer's Training Camp of 1917-18 and the Student Army Training Camp of 1918.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Indiana Village for Epileptics, at Newcastle, Dr. W. C. VAN NUYS, Superintendent, Sept. 30, 1917.

This report shows a population of 305; admitted during the year 92; discharged 21; died 27. The net increase for the year was 32. No females are in the hospital at present. The total maintenance charge was \$86,750. Buildings are in process of construction for the care of the female epileptics.

The Thirteenth Annual Report by the same superintendent, dated Sept. 30, 1918, shows 348 present, an increase of 11. These unfortunate people are not regarded as curable.

Bulletin No. 36 of the Department of Public Instruction of Indiana deals with Physical Education, being a Manual of Exercises for the public schools. It was prepared by W. A. Ocker of Indianapolis, George E. Schlafer of Indiana University, W. F. King of the State Board of Health and Marjorie Benckart of the Bloomington, Indiana, public schools. It is a pamphlet of 325 pages with illustrations of the various exercises, tables showing approximate attainments for the different grades, tests, measurements and music.

Americana for January 1918 has an article on the Northwest Territory and the Ordinance of 1787 by Charles A. Ingraham.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine for January has two articles of interest for Indiana readers. The first is *The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania*, by George Arthur Cribbs. The second is *the Pennsylvania Canals*, by James Macfarlane.

Smith College Studies for July 1918 contains a 65 page article by Lawrence Tyndale Lowrey on *Northern Opinion of Approaching Secession*, October 1859 to November 1860.

The two principal articles of the *Journal of History* for October 1918 are an Official Statement of President Joseph Smith, by Herman C. Smith and Women of the Old Far West by Vida E. Smith. The latter is an excellent discussion of the pioneer colony at old Far West.

The Michigan History Magazine for October is devoted largely to Michigan in the war. Besides this are two articles of general historical interest: one, King Alcohol; His Rise, Reign and Fall in Michigan, by John Fitzgibbon and the other on Claude Allouez by John A. Lemmer of Notre Dame Univer-

THE September *Tennessee Historical Magazine* is taken up entirely with a continuation of Albert V. Goodpasture's article on Indian wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest, 1730-1807.

THE Library of Congress has recently issued a check list of the collections of personal papers of historical value in the various libraries of the United States. Of the 1000 or so collections listed not one is in an Indiana library.

Rare Books on American and Indiana History For Sale

Indiana Soldier (Civil War), 2 Vols.-----	\$3.00
Indiana Roll of Honor, Vol. I-----	1.00
Terrell's Reports (Civil War), 8 vols.-----	8.00
Goodrich & Tuttle, History of Indiana-----	2.00
Woodburn, Higher Education in Indiana-----	1.00
Young, History of Wayne County-----	1.00
Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. I, II, III-----	3.00
Taylor, Bench and Bar of Indiana-----	3.00
Hall, The New Purchase, Woodburn edition -----	1.50
Hall, The New Purchase, second edition, 1855-----	1.00
Dillon, History of Indiana-----	7.50
Burnet, Notes on History of Northwest Territory-----	4.00
Foulke, Life of Morton, 2 vols. -----	5.00
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Monks, Courts and Lawyers of Indiana, 3 vols.-----	25.00
Indiana Legislative and State Manual, full set-----	8.00
R. W. Thompson, Recollections of Sixteen Presidents, 2 vols. -----	2.00
Atlas of Indiana, separate map of each county, town- ships, sections, city and town plats, historical sketch of each county—1876 (sold for \$25.00) ---	7.50
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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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JUNE, 1919

No. 2

The Coming of the English to Indiana in 1817 and Their Hoosier Neighbors

By JOHN E. IGLEHART, Evansville, Ind.

INTRODUCTION

(Copyright 1919, by John E. Iglehart)

In 1916, at the request of the mayor of the city of Evansville, the writer undertook the organization and direction of the work of a Historical Commission of the Evansville Centennial for 1917. With a view to qualify himself better for the work he sought the literature of the early western travelers, as well as other writers, and began a search in the early records of the city and county of Vanderburgh, as well as of Warrick and Knox counties, out of which Vanderburgh county had been created.

The travels of William Faux in the west in the fall and winter of 1819 resulted from his intimacy with the Ingle family in Somersham, Huntingdonshire, England, where both families lived, and a promise made by Faux to Rev. John Ingle, a Baptist minister, that the former would visit the son of the latter at Saundersville in Vanderburgh county. The diary of Faux during five weeks he spent in John Ingle's cabin is the only record in existence of the first British settlement in Indiana. While local histories have recorded the

lives of many members of that settlement and their descendants, including many of the leading men of the community, and in southwestern Indiana for one hundred years, no mention is made in any of them of the colony as Faux describes it.

When the war came on in 1917 the Historical Commission ceased its labors. The writer, as a descendant of John Ingle of Somersham and as a representative of three pioneer families of that settlement, felt a call to restore the fading picture, and to trace the work and lives of the emigrants and their descendants as town builders and commonwealth builders, which seemed to him worthy to be recorded.

The chief qualifications of the writer for the work lay in the fact that he had personally known some of the original emigrants of the first generation and many of their children, who had been born in England, among whom was his mother. He had more or less a knowledge of the history of the leaders of the settlement, as well as a large number of the one hundred or more families who came into the settlement in the first decade. In a law practice of about fifty years in Evansville, where he has lived a still longer time, he was in a manner familiar with the early history of the people of the city and county. So that in handling the records and files of the city and county from the beginning as late as 1830, the writer was able, so to speak, to become acquainted with the people of the town and county, their character and their work in the first decade, and to interpret many of the old records more fully than could have been done by a stranger. In tracing the history of the beginnings of the early British settlement, the personal knowledge of Mr. Edward Maidlow, still living in excellent health, and James Erskine, recently deceased, who were born in it in 1831, were of great assistance, as has been Mrs. Samuel G. Evans, a granddaughter of Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., who has permitted the writer to examine the family correspondence of the early time.

As will appear in this sketch, the movement represented in the Indiana colony was part of a greater one and a clear presentation of the whole was necessary to a history of the part. No attempt has been made to repeat the history of the Birkbeck-Flower movement, so fully presented in the writings

of those two men. The correctness of Prof. Edwin Erle Sparks' statement as to the final outcome of the Illinois colony, was challenged by Mr. Walter Colyer, and the writer was glad to avail himself of the opportunity to invite Mr. Colyer to state the facts upon the other side of the matter, which are presented by him probably as well and as fully as can be done, and they will probably be the last word on that subject.

The final success of each of these colonies is not to be sought at this time, in outward evidence of distinguishing British life, manners, or customs in any form, as Professor Sparks seems to imply. The emigrants, though of English, Irish and Scotch birth, became immediately American and their descendants are as distinctly such today in every respect, as any portion of the American people.

The Hoosier neighbors of the colonists in southern Indiana are traced with some care, both the native leaders and the body of the people with whom they lived as citizens and neighbors. Morris Birkbeck's descriptions in his *Notes and Letters* will always remain a valuable contribution to the history of the time. His description of the people of Princeton, quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, is truthful, as the writer has every reason to believe, and he has practiced law in Princeton and on the circuit for almost fifty years and has a fair general knowledge of the people of Gibson county. While the influence of the early English and other foreigners and the native eastern people has been felt in southern Indiana, there is no doubt that the great body of the people of the southern portion of the State are of southern descent.

In dealing with the status of those people in the early history of the State, any fair critic must realize that altogether undue emphasis has to this time been placed in public opinion east of Indiana upon descriptions by early writers, who have not fairly interpreted the people, but who have taken the bottom layer to represent the whole people, or have been, correctly or not, so interpreted. In presenting Birkbeck's picture of these people, as a fair type of the plain people, who were much similar to the body of the people in all of the counties of southern Indiana, the writer may seem to have dealt with the subject as an advocate and a partisan. He

has eliminated as irrelevant to a truthful picture of the better class of Hoosiers, *The Hoosier School Master* entire, and much of the *New Purchase*, and has presented his facts and reasons.

Both the chapter on the Men of the Western Waters by Roosevelt and the new and splendid interpretation of frontier life in the Old North West by Frederick G. Turner, relate to the people, the location and the time of which we are writing and are germane to the description of the Hoosier neighbors of the British colonists, who included the family of Abraham Lincoln.

The references to Abraham Lincoln are intended chiefly to call attention to him as a Hoosier neighbor of the British colony during its first decade and longer, and the influence upon his character of a life among the pioneer farmers of southwestern Indiana, and to point out avenues of opportunity and information which existed within his reach, during his residence in Indiana, up to the time he was twenty-one years of age and which furnish facts relevant in the history of the main theme. That he had more opportunities and read more books than his historians are able to trace is conceded by them.

The writer had prepared biographical data, with illustrations, of a number of the original settlers and their descendants, among the latter a number of the representative men and women in this section of the State, as well as elsewhere, as a most complete verification of his statements, but the limitations of a magazine article properly exclude them.

THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLERS

In the summer of 1817, Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., of Tavistock, Devonshire, England, perfected arrangements for his son, Saunders Hornbrook, Jr., to come to America with his two sisters, and furnished him money to purchase land, build temporary improvements and prepare accommodations for the rest of the family, in the wilderness of the far west. He intended to follow when the accommodations were ready. His wife, a woman of unusual ability, was to remain behind a

couple of years with the two smaller children and settle up the business. The senior Hornbrook operated large manufactories (for the time), woolen mills and an iron foundry. He was an educated man, as were his ancestors for several generations before him, and came of good stock.

The first week in October, 1817, the junior Hornbrook, with his sisters, arrived at Pigeon creek, "a place merely for loading and discharging vessels for the western part of Indiana State." Evansville, located half a mile above the mouth of Pigeon creek, then consisted of thirteen log houses. A road ran out to the river through the bluff bank at a point now the foot of Main street. He proceeded without delay to Princeton, twenty-seven miles due north, where Birkbeck and Flower had established temporary quarters, while arrangements for the accommodations of the Prairie settlement across the Wabash river were in progress. Both Flower and Birkbeck were well known in England, and Hornbrook, Sr., had planned to join their settlement and purchase about 1,000 acres of land on which to settle with his family. Their scheme of land speculation, however, limited the amount of the purchase of one farmer to one-half section of land, 320 acres, required the purchaser to take it where it was assigned him, and the nearest to the proposed village centre where Hornbrook could buy was about twenty miles distant. He was required to pay a price per acre greater than that for which equally good or better land, much nearer in the government domain, could be bought.

These terms young Hornbrook indignantly refused. He returned to Princeton, "and after fourteen days constant fag, sometimes one and sometimes two meals a day, sleeping in a barn or cabin at night, he fixed on a spot of one and one-half sections," nine hundred and sixty acres, about ten miles from the Ohio river, and seventeen miles from Princeton, which he immediately entered at the land office at Vincennes.¹

Hornbrook came by the Red Banks trail from Princeton, and located just east of it. This trail was one of the earliest routes located by the Indians and extended from the river

¹ Private letter of Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., dated Jan. 7, 1818, at Tavistock.

north to Princeton, Vincennes and Terre Haute and beyond to the Indian villages at a very early day.² The survey of this line by Jacob Fowler in 1806 shows it terminates at the Ohio river about five miles below the mouth of Pigeon creek in section 3, town 7, S. R. 11 W. about seven miles north of Henderson (Red Banks). Here local history says the channel was very narrow on account of sand bars on both sides of the river and in low water was crossed by whites and Indians without boats.³ (Wilson's map places the ford at Red Banks about seven miles lower down the river.) This testimony is corroborated, by descriptions in deeds, referring to this trail, which are not found south of this ford.⁴

"Evansville right side. Above the mouth of Pigeon creek. This is a very thriving town, situated in the bend of the river, fifty-four miles south of Vincennes. It is the seat of justice for Vanderburgh county, Indiana; channel nearest right shore, round a high bar at the left hand point, opposite Pigeon creek. Two miles below Pigeon creek there is a hard bar on the right; channel near the left shore, and when you approach the left hand point below, keep over in the bend on the right, to avoid a large bar on the left, round the point; when past the latter, keep well over to the left again, to avoid the large bar on the right."

This location by Hornbrook was in October or November, 1817. When the senior Hornbrook came over in the following summer, 1818, he met Edward Maidlow, with his family, at Wheeling, bound for the Prairie settlement. They bought and fitted up an ark and came by water to Evansville together, and Maidlow located adjoining Hornbrook, entering about the same quantity of land as Hornbrook.

In April, the same year, George Flower, on his second trip to America, sailed from England in the ship *Anna Maria*, chartered by him, with a band of emigrants for his colony, with the deck of the ship covered with a selection of fine stock, preceded by a ship similarly loaded.⁵ Among the passengers who came with them, named by Flower in his history of the settlement, was John Ingle, his wife, five young chil-

² George R. Wilson, *Early Indian Trails and Surveys*, Map 394, 360, 361.

³ Sebastian Henrich, the veteran Abstractor, procured this testimony a generation ago from reliable sources.

⁴ The following extract from *The Western Pilot*, by Samuel Cummings, published in 1825, which furnishes also in 20 maps the course of the Ohio river from Pittsburgh to the Mississippi river, shows the sand bars mentioned at the terminus of the Red Banks trail as located in Fowler's survey:

⁵ George Flowers, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Ill.* 100.

dren and maid, who came to Princeton and remained a short time with Ingle's friend, Judge William Prince, after whom Princeton, then four years old, was named. There can be no doubt that it was the arrival of George Flower's ship, which sailed in April, 1818, thus mentioned:⁶

A New York paper says: We learn that a gentleman has lately arrived in this city from England whose object is to settle in the Illinois territory—that his family and settlers, brought over with him, amount to fifty-one persons—that he has furnished himself with agricultural implements, seeds of various kinds, some cows, sheep and pigs for breeding, and about 100,000 pounds sterling in money.

This is doing business to a great national as well as individual profit; and if gentlemen of fortune and enterprise will emigrate in the same manner, our Western States will shortly be the most flourishing part of the world.

The amount of cash in the party was probably over-stated, although there were a number of well-to-do individuals in the party.

After a survey of the situation, Ingle, instead of going as he had intended to the Illinois settlement, bought a section of land near Hornbrook, about the time that Maidlow purchased. Hornbrook and Maidlow were men of middle age with good sized families of grown children, a number of whom later intermarried. Maidlow was "a most intelligent and respectable Hampshire farmer, who brought considerable capital and English habits and feelings the best in the world."⁷ He preferred to remain a farmer and hold his land for its increase. Ingle outlived Hornbrook and Maidlow. He was for many years an active leader in public matters and, like Hornbrook and Maidlow, remained on his farm all his life. All of them were strong men and natural leaders, who became and remained during their lives the center of a large circle in the Saundersville community, exercising wide and permanent influence.

The McJohnstons and Hillyards, Irish, who came in 1818, and the Wheelers, English, and the Erskines, Scotch-Irish emigrants, who came in 1819, all located a few miles east of Saundersville. They were people of the same type, all men

⁶ *Niles' Weekly Register*, June 6, 1818, XIV, 256.

⁷ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 234.

of high purposes and character. With, or following soon after all of these men, came followers, relatives or friends. This was the beginning of the British settlement in Indiana which, in November, 1819, Faux describes as containing fifty-three families in possession of 12,800 acres of land entered, having capital to the amount of eighty thousand dollars.⁸ Within two years after that date there were in the settlement over one hundred families, representing probably from five hundred to seven hundred and fifty people.

The panic then existing in America, perhaps with improved conditions of the people in England, possibly bettered as the effect of wholesale expatriation in this general movement, checked the rapid growth of the Indiana colony for some years. But emigration never wholly ceased. Later in the forties and early fifties renewed emigration in large numbers set in from Great Britain. These later emigrants were attracted largely by relatives, friends or acquaintances of the British settlers and their descendants, who by that time were among the foremost leaders and town builders in the rapidly growing town of Evansville. That town was platted in 1817, was chartered a year later, and was now located near the southern boundary of the settlement, which had extended toward Evansville.

To the writer it seemed a matter of more than local interest to trace the influence of these pioneers and their associates of the first decade of the settlement, to trace their struggles with adverse elements peculiar to the locality, in their stand for law, order, morality and high Christian civilization in southwestern Indiana, at the beginning of society itself, and when the influences of organized government were first authoritatively felt here.

The relation of the settlement to the new town of Evansville was most intimate. A few miles distance between them in that day was counted slight obstacle to such intimacy. They grew from beginnings at the same time and were soon

⁸ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 240. Aaron Woods, *Sketches*, 13, mentions English settlements in Dearborn and Franklin counties as well as in Vanderburgh county. We find a short reference to the settlement in Dearborn county, Archibald Shaw, *Hist. of Dearborn*, 212-214, but no reference to the one in Franklin county.

almost united by the Mechanicsville (or Stringtown) ridge, which was from the beginning settled by the better class of pioneers and on which were scattered early a few of the British colony. The British settlement became an integral part of the foundation, growth and expansion of the city of Evansville, which was destined to become a large city, in which members of the settlement had an opportunity not offered to the other purely agricultural British settlements of the time.

Some of the descendants of these British pioneers, including some of the younger generation born in England, such as John Ingle, Jr., and Philip Hornbrook, were among the leading citizens of Evansville in its early growth and formative period. The influence generally of the whole settlement on the agricultural community, its intelligence, morality and society was also marked. More than any other single element, the influence from the source mentioned aided in the establishment of high standards of social and political life and institutions.

Before the days of railroads and the telegraph, representatives of the British settlement were leaders in the town of Evansville. They were leaders in the building of the first canal, the first railroad and the first telegraph line in southwestern Indiana, and in the promoting of the first coal mine, and river craft attachment to furnish fuel to steamboats on the river and the people of Evansville at its wharf. They were leaders, in the beginning, of the educational institutions of the city of Evansville at the time of the creation of the public school system of Indiana. They were leaders in the organization and support of the first agricultural society in the county¹⁰, and the early agricultural reports of the State contain the names of one of the younger leaders in the settlement as among the first contributors to the literature of scientific agriculture.¹¹ In pioneer work in the religious insti-

¹⁰ Philip Hornbrook was secretary of the first agricultural society in Vanderburgh county and so continued during his life. When he died the society abandoned its meetings.

¹¹ Interesting articles on scientific agriculture by Andrew Erskine, *Indiana Agricultural Reports*, 1856, 387, 392; 1859, 60, 119.

tutions of the entire county they were first, as the records show.

From 1819, when the Wheeler brothers and Robert Parrett came into the settlement, and for twelve or fifteen years afterwards, while the community was too poor to build a church or support a preacher, the town of Evansville itself, as well as the rural districts, relied almost entirely upon them—excepting an occasional visit of a Presbyterian missionary, or the Methodist circuit rider—for an educated ministry.

The names of Hornbrook, Ingle, Maidlow, Parrett, Hill-yard, Wheeler, Erskine and others were early well known in Vincennes, New Harmony, Albion, Princeton, Evansville, and surrounding country, and for one hundred years, through several generations, those names have stood for truth, honesty, and justice in dealing with others. The large representation of those families among the prominent citizens of Evansville, as well as some well known in wider fields, is due in no small degree to this fact. Among the latter, now living, will appear names known throughout the country in literature and great moral reform and when the United States, in November, 1918, assumed government control of all telegraph as well as telephone lines in the country, a grandson of Robert Parrett, Union Bethell, was placed in charge of them all.

Before entering more fully into these details, it will be appropriate to give an outline of the wider movement recognized at the time by leading authority in Great Britain and America, as of world-wide importance, and of which the Indiana colony was a part.

Usually the significance of local history is that it is part of a greater whole. The right and vital sort of local history is the sort which may be written with lifted eyes—the sort which has a horizon and an outlook upon the world.¹²

ENGLISH EMIGRATION TO AMERICA AFTER 1815

The four British colonies in America were parts of a single movement, resulting from the same causes. Professor Sparks, in an excellent short summary of the movement, says:

¹² Woodrow Wilson, *The Course of American History*, 216.

English colonies were planted in eastern Pennsylvania, along the Susquehanna river; in Long Island, New York; in the southern portion of the State of Indiana, and in southeastern Illinois. * * * The movement developed at the time of the reconstruction period of European history, when the nations were attempting to resume their normal economic relations, after twenty years of almost continuous war. * * * The people blamed all their miseries upon the government.¹³

William Cobbet, in his dedication to Thomas Hulme's *Journal* of a tour of the far west in 1818, ascribes the activity of the latter to his zeal against the twin monsters, tyranny and priestcraft, and a desire to assist in providing a retreat for the oppressed. He speaks of the great numbers of immigrants flocking to the western countries, the newest of the New World, toward which the writings of Morris Birkbeck had called their pointed attention. Especially, were so attracted those Englishmen, "who having something left to be robbed of, and wishing to preserve it, were looking towards America as a place of refuge from the boroughmongers and the Holy Alliance."¹⁴

Hulme says he saw that the incomes of his children were all pawned to pay the debts of the borough or seat owners. That of whatever he might be able to give his children, which was a very substantial sum, as well as of what they might be able to earn, more than one-half would be taken away to feed pensioned lords and ladies, "soldiers to shoot at us, parsons to persecute us, and fundholders, who had lent their money to be applied to purposes of enslaving us."¹⁵

Richard Flower said in his letter of August 20, 1821, that the grand reason for emigration was to escape that overwhelming system of taxation, which had diminished the property of the emigrants, and threatened, if they staid much longer, to swallow up the whole. He adds:

How many of my brother farmers have lost their all? How many have been added to the list of paupers, since we left our beloved country, newspapers and private letters, agricultural meetings and parliamentary proceedings reports sufficiently declare.¹⁶

¹³ Erle Sparks, *English Settlement in the Illinois*, introduction.

¹⁴ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, X 19-21.

¹⁵ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, X 23.

¹⁶ *Id.* 146.

Rev. John Ingle, of Somersham, so often mentioned by Faux in his *Travels*, thus writes to his son, John Ingle, of Saundersville, eighteen months after the emigration of the latter to the Indiana colony:

I most sincerely congratulate you on your choice and successful removing from your native country; you have privations, you have calculated upon, and from your accounts, fewer than you expected. Had you stopped here, you would have lived somehow, but you could not have continued in the society you have been used to. Here the smaller stations of property appear gradually wearing to pauperism and the prospect before us is unpromising indeed; agriculture dark, commercial and manufacturing stations no less so. Prices are low, markets are falling, corn traders stopping, laborers out of employ, and money so scarce as in a great measure, what can be omitted, possibly, is omitted. Poor rates are enormous and appearances seem to tell us they will still increase.

Faux gives as the reason of James Maidlow for emigrating, that after a fair trial, with a large farm, he found it impossible to farm, without losing money.

Payton Wheeler, a tradesman from Chelsea, told Faux that having a wife and eight children, he was determined on emigration by soberly looking into his affairs and finding that he had an increasing family, and decreasing property, having lost during his last year, among his trademen, 1,500 pounds. Birkbeck, in his *Notes*, is thus quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*:

A Nation, with half its population supported by alms, or poor-rates, and one-fourth of its income derived from taxes, many of which are dried up in their sources, or speedily becoming so, must teem with emigrants from one end to the other, and, for such as myself, who have had "nothing to do with the laws but obey them," it is quite reasonable and just to secure a timely retreat from the approaching crisis—either of anarchy or despotism.

An English farmer, to which class I had the honor to belong, is in possession of the same rights and privileges with the villeins of old time, and exhibits for the most part, a suitable political character. He has no voice in the appointment of the legislature, unless he happen to possess a freehold of forty shillings a year, and he is then expected to vote in the interest of his landlord. He has no concern with public affairs, excepting as a tax-payer, a parish officer, or a militiaman. He has no right to appear at a county meeting, unless the word inhabitant should find its way into the sheriff's invitation; in this case he may show his face among the nobility, clergy, and freeholders; a felicity which once occurred to myself, when the

inhabitants of Surrey were invited to assist the gentry in crying down the Income Tax.

Thus, having no elective franchise, an English farmer can scarcely be said to have a political existence; and political duties he has none, except such as, under existing circumstances, would inevitably consign him to the special guardianship of the Secretary of State for the home department.

Following this, the *Review* concedes that "whoever prefers his own to any other country, as a place of residence, must be content to pay an enormous price for the gratification of his wish."¹⁷ The *Review* reproves the writers of works of travel and the magazines which manifested hatred of America, and things American, and it shows an appreciation of American growth and coming greatness, prophetic of what the world concedes today.

Confirming the experience of Hulme and others, as to religious persecution, Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., the father of the British settlement in Indiana, whose mother, Barbara, was the daughter of Rev S. Richards, of Calstock, in Devonshire, a Unitarian minister, gave as his reason for emigration, in addition to business depression, the fact that he was fined a shilling for attendance at the Unitarian chapel of each member of his family and household.

As early as the end of 1816 the problem of emigration from Great Britain to America had become a serious one, both to the British government, and to the people of America. In New York alone nearly 2,000 such emigrants who, according to John Bradbury, foolishly remained about the cities till their money gave out, were stranded and appealed to their home government for aid. Competition among laborers was great, as emigrants were arriving from all of the nations of Europe. In February, 1817, the British consul in New York, by newspaper advertisement, announced "the important privilege to such English emigrants, to settle in upper Canada or Nova Scotia." This indicated the scheme of a British colony, charged in the American press to be the result of the work of a British spy. Colonies west of the mountains were then urged on account of a temperate climate better adapted to

¹⁷ *Edinburgh Review*, 1818, Vol. XXX, 123.

settlers, than the rigorous weather of upper Canada and Nova Scotia.

An ambitious plan of western colonization on a large scale to provide for such emigrants as preferred to remain in the United States, was outlined in detail in an American magazine in July, 1817.¹⁸ Bradbury's *Travels* in 1809, 1810 and 1811 published in August, 1817, gave a most favorable description of the scattered people of the west and recommended colonies for mutual protection of emigrants, which practice, he says, was not confined to newcomers only, but was frequently adopted among old settlers. Referring to the latter, he says:

With whom it is a continual bond of amity and social intercourse, and in no part of the world is good neighborhood found in greater perfection than in the western territory or in America generally.

Morris Birkbeck's *Notes* came out in Philadelphia, in the fall of 1817, before they were published in England. William Darby's *Emigrants' Guide*, giving full directions to emigrants, was published in America about the same time. In the May number, 1818, of the *Analectic Review*, appeared a review of both of these works, in which the writer refers approvingly to Birkbeck's scheme and says that his "plans in the State of Indiana, bid fair to bring about the realization of our more flattering hopes." Birkbeck's colony was in Illinois, on the edge of the prairie beyond the heavy timber belt in Indiana, which extended to the Wabash river. His temporary headquarters were, however, in Indiana and he refers to the people of the latter State in his work.

When the movement among the better class of British emigrants followed that of the more shiftless or unfortunate class mentioned, the former sent out agents to western America to look at the country and make recommendations. Such an agent was William Bradshaw Fearon, a London physician, who was unfairly denounced as untruthful by Cobbett, of the Long Island colony, and as an agent of the British government by George Flower. Referring to the character of men and women, who were a correct type of the leaders of the

¹⁸ *Analectic Review*, Phila. X, 52.

first English settlement in Indiana, as well as, we have reason to believe, the Illinois settlement, Mr. Fearon says, in substance.¹⁹

At the time of his appointment as the agent of thirty-nine English families to investigate and report upon the subject of a location in the west, emigration had assumed a new character. It was no longer merely the poor, the idle, the profligate or the wildly speculative, who were proposing to quit their native country, but men also of capital, of industry, of sober and regular pursuits; men of reflection, who apprehended approaching evils; men of upright and conscientious minds, to whose happiness civil and religious liberty were essential. And men of domestic feeling, who wished to provide for the future support and prosperity of their offspring.

The design of emigrating by colony to Illinois was formed by Morris Birkbeck, who in 1817, in Philadelphia and in 1818 in London, published his *Notes* of his journey and described his plans, his location, in the small prairies of Illinois adjoining timber land, and its advantages. His appeal to the British people met with a response of approval so general as to alarm the partisans of the government, and to provoke from them attacks upon America and things American; travelers like Fearon and Faux were biased with this spirit. It was said of him by Faux that "no man since Columbus, had done so much toward peopling America, as Morris Birbeck."

To Birkbeck more than all others, was due the first leadership of the colony, in the prairie of Illinois, as well as of other emigrants in the far west, at this time, who did not join his colony. He was a highly educated man, a large and successful tenant farmer, of 1,500 acres, called Wanborough, near Guilford, in the county of Surrey. He had accumulated property which he converted into about 55,000 dollars cash, which he invested in his scheme of emigration. A large number of his employees and former tenants joined him and became tenants or small purchasers of land from him. Some returned to England. Eleven editions in English of Birkbeck's *Notes*

¹⁹ Fearon's *Sketches of America*, introduction. "Almost every vessel from England brings more or less passengers—the current of immigration is steady, and of very respectable character." *Niles' Register*, May 17, 1817, V. XII, p. 185.

were published during 1817, 1818 and 1819, in Philadelphia, London, Dublin and Cork, and a German translation was published in Jena in 1818.²⁰ His *Letters from Illinois* were published in seven editions in English in 1818, and in 1819 were translated into French and German.

George Flower was the son of Richard Flower, who was a large brewer at Hertford, the county town of Hertfordshire, who had retired from business after acquiring a competence, and lived upon a beautiful estate called Marden. He was the head of a prominent family, still influential in England. He placed a large sum at the disposal of his son, George, then 29 years of age, and personally joined him in promoting the success of the colony where he lived the remainder of his life.

Birkbeck and Flower sought to buy an entire township of about 40,000 acres, but this required an act of congress to make an exception to the government method of selling land, and that plan failed. The scheme outlined in Birkbeck's *Notes* was therefore modified and Birkbeck and Flower bought 16,000 acres in one body and other tracts were from time to time added by them and by individual purchases. It is not unlikely that Birkbeck and Flower might have obtained the privilege of buying one or more townships of land in a body without its offer at public sale, if the Hibernian societies of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore had not at the same time petitioned congress for large concessions to the Irish emigrants for colonization in bodies in the west. The House of Representatives, by a decisive vote, adopted a committee report adverse to these petitions, and which called attention to others without naming them, doubtless including that of Birkbeck and Flower.²¹ An unfortunate breach between the two men at the very beginning of their plans prevented them ever meeting or acting together and the two men organized rival towns, Birkbeck at Wanboro and Flower at Albion, only a few miles apart. Birkbeck died in 1825 and Wanboro later disappeared. Albion became the county seat and absorbed the business of the former town. Birkbeck was the practical farmer. Before his emigration, he enjoyed a

²⁰Solon Justus Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 112.

²¹*Niles' Weekly Register*, 1818, XIV, 256 and 280.

widespread celebrity as being one of the first practical as well as theoretical farmers of the kingdom. His premature and early death by drowning in 1825 cut short his plans, and the loss of Flower in Birkbeck's alienation and death, just at the time of an expected reconciliation, was very great, equally to their original scheme and to George Flower personally.

Flower was not raised a farmer and when he built Park House in the winter of 1818-19 for his father, later occupied by himself, it was for years maintained much as a great county estate in England. It was said when built to be the finest house west of the Allegheny mountains.

To Morris Birkbeck belongs the credit of the conception of the English colony in the prairie of Illinois, a publication of the description of the country, and a presentation of statesmanlike view of the advantages of the far west to the inhabitants of the old world, then considering emigration. This exerted an extraordinary influence upon the British people. While in America, his son in England fitted out a ship, chartered by him, which brought a ship load of emigrants and supplies in April, 1818. He was nominated secretary of state *ad interim* of the new State of Illinois and on political grounds, only, the senate refused to confirm his appointment. His intimacy with Governor Edward Coles, while the latter was on a diplomatic mission abroad, before he became governor, is believed to have influenced his selection of Illinois, as a field for his emigration scheme. He is recognized by the best authority as among the first men of the State, in defeating the attempt to impose slavery on the State by a new constitution.²² Richard Flower was so recognized by Governor Coles, who appealed to him personally for aid in that crisis.²³ Birkbeck's descendants in America and Australia, have been and are highly respectable and successful people, some of them of much prominence.

To George Flower belongs the credit of co-operation with Birkbeck, the publication of Birkbeck's *Notes*, one copy of which he carried to Philadelphia and one to London, the

²² Washburn, *Sketch of Edward Coles*, 188; Dwight Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, 44.

²³ Washburn's *Sketches of Edward Coles*, 145.

chartering of ships, the creation of Albion as a going concern and the devotion of his life to the work in which Richard Flower, his father, joined and invested a large fortune for that time.

Richard Flower, in 1824, was commissioned by George Rapp, the head of the New Harmony settlement, to sell out the property of the Rappite colony and Flower visited Scotland and interested Robert Owen, who made the purchase in that year. It appears that Flower found Owen as the purchaser.²⁴

George Flower was a man of commanding presence, and of large natural ability. His descendants have almost, without exception, been remarkable people intellectually. His grandson, Rev. George F. Pentecost, D. D., still living in Philadelphia, in the active ministry in a great church at 75, has been and remains one of the most eloquent, able and remarkable men in the American pulpit.

Enormous sums of money were spent in many ways very early by the Flowers for the betterment and improvement of the colony and its inhabitants and to attract emigrants. They, with Birkbeck, were broad, liberal and philanthropic. Their money so lavishly spent, was not a wise financial investment in the primitive state of society and economic development of the country, then just commencing. The final success of the prairie agricultural colony was to be from the labor of the individual farmer and his family, acting independently. Large sums invested so far in advance of the times in the wilderness, were never returned and George Flower and his wife lived to endure "pinching penury" in the neighborhood of his former grandeur. He and his wife died the same day at Grayville, Illinois, January 15, 1862.

THE ILLINOIS SETTLEMENT

It is not our purpose to repeat the story of the founding of the Illinois settlement and its gradual evolution into an intelligent and successful agricultural community with the

²⁴ George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County*, 61, note.

attractive and cultured county seat of Albion. Birkbeck's and Flower's works contain a full account of the details. Professor Sparks' *English Settlement in Illinois* is merely a reprint of interesting letters of Richard Flower, and Morris Birkbeck, descriptive of the times and country in their relationship to this emigration. He did not claim to have before him all the facts in relation to the progress of that settlement, nor any acquaintance with the community necessary for a determination of the question of the success of the Illinois colony of which he speaks in unfavorable terms. His statement that a very few descendants of the English settlers are yet to be found in Edwards county would seem to be a misapprehension.

The purpose of all of these English emigrants in Illinois and Indiana was not to form English colonies in America, with English customs or laws, or with a separate or independent existence. This was the opposite of Birkbeck's scheme outlined in his *Notes*. It was rather their movement together into a new country for the betterment of men and women of common hopes and aims. It was to become pioneers and citizens of a democratic republic, where the oppressive burden of rents, tithes, poor rates and taxes from which they fled, practically had no existence. They came, too, like the Pilgrims of old, to seek freedom from oppression, including freedom to worship God. All of the Americans were emigrants or descendants of emigrants. The English settlers ceased to be foreigners, they became Americans, with all others.

The success, in a sense, of an English settlement in the beginning of a community like this, lay in its perfect union with all the better elements of population as then came into the country, and they came rapidly. Its highest success lay in the extent of its contributions to the building of character among the people, to the elevation of ideals, to the establishment of public opinion, based on correct standards of right and wrong, leadership in establishing public improvements, churches, school houses, introducing good stock, in creating improved farms, early roads, bridges and mills, and later, canals, railroads, telegraph and a system of public education,

as well as everything entering into the make-up of good society.

Many of these things were introduced by Birkbeck and Flower in the very beginning at enormous expense never returned to them, and with the aid of the influence of the English settlers most of them came sooner than they would have come without that aid. Such was distinctly the result in southwestern Indiana of the permanent location of the English settlers in Vanderburgh county.

Mr. Walter Colyer, of Albion, himself a descendant of one of the English settlers, was for nearly twenty years editor of the *Albion Journal*, during which period he gathered much material relating to the Illinois settlement, with a view to utilizing it in various ways. During the past fifteen years, since quitting the newspaper field, his stock of material has increased. He has written and published a number of articles upon the subject, a number for the Illinois Historical Society, of which for many years he has been a director. He has an invaluable collection of books and pamphlets on the subject which have been of much value to the writer in extending his investigation to the Illinois settlement. He is best qualified of any person living to answer the inquiry as to what impress the English settlement in Edwards county has left today upon the community in which it was located. Answering that question put to him, he gives, in a letter, the following relevant facts:

As many as seven hundred English people found a permanent settlement and home in Edwards county in the early years of the colony, to say nothing of the hundreds of others who continued to migrate from England to the English settlement, for fifty years afterwards.

The great majority of those people died here in Edwards county, and the day you were in Albion many hundreds of their descendants were on the fairgrounds to attend the Centennial Celebration. I have no means of knowing how many of those descendants were present, but it is quite likely that they comprised from one-third to one-half of the total attendance.

Edwards is a county in which approximately nineteen-twentieths of the farmers reside on their own farms, and farm mortgages are the exception and not the rule. The delinquent tax list, published once a year, has numerous times been printed in less than one column of space in a local newspaper. There has not been a saloon in Albion, the county seat, for more than forty-five years, and none in the entire county for that period

with the exception of one for a brief time at Browns some fifteen years ago. There are but two terms of circuit court in the county a year, and it has sometimes happened court has adjourned without a jury trial or the return of an indictment. In a hundred years there have been but fourteen homicides and in but three instances was the killing done for any cause but self defense.

Edwards is a county in which practically every farmer owns a telephone, subscribes for a local newspaper and reads the Chicago, St. Louis or Evansville dailies. It has been computed that Edwards county has a greater number of automobiles in proportion to population than any other county, save one, in Illinois. The per capita of wealth is greater and the standard of intelligence higher than in most of the counties of southern Illinois. Two-thirds of the farmers have a substantial balance to their credit in a local bank.

The county is famous for the fact that its county jail, as well as the county almshouse, is often unoccupied for months at a time, and the jailer makes his living by other means. It can also be said with truth that Edwards is a county in which high school, college or university graduates, can be found sprinkled about on almost every section of land.

Those who were born, reared and trained in Edwards county, have carried the indelible impress of their early environment to other States or countries, have in the great majority of instances prospered and done honor to the place of their birth. Many of them have become famed as editors, lawyers, statesmen, doctors, missionaries, preachers, lecturers, educators, engineers, scientists, travellers, and successful men in various lines of industry. One became the owner of a large Fiji island and amassed a great fortune.

Of Albion, the county seat of Edwards county, the town founded by George Flower a hundred years ago, it may be interesting to note that it contains practically twice as many pianos as dogs, and that it has more miles of brick paved streets than any other city of its population in southern Illinois. It may be worth observing that the city calaboose is occupied scarcely once a year.

It appears that the settlements of the English and Irish, with a few Scotch, in the west, were destined, both in Illinois and in Indiana, to give color and tone to the society, manners and customs of the people with whom they mingled.

THE INDIANA SETTLEMENT

The facts which led Hornbrook to refuse the terms offered him by the promoters of the Illinois colony and to select a location in the southern Indiana wilderness, which immediately became a nucleus for a British colony in Indiana, do

not all lie upon the surface, or fully appear in the reasons already given for that step.

There was something in the headship of one or two persons over others, especially strong men, in the direction and domination of the most important step, in the change of home and country, that was tolerated in England, but wholly foreign to American soil and life. It appears that Birkbeck and Flower could not agree and organized rival towns. Whatever the cause assigned for the quarrel, it was true, then as now, that there could be but one leader to a single movement.

The natives called Birkbeck the Czar of the prairies. Flower, as stated, lived in the finest house west of the Allegheny mountains, and in an unusual degree brought into the far west English life and comforts at a great expense. Both these men saw the future of the country and that empires were to be established in the new western States.

The power of organization, leadership and money had its limits, and the success of the farmer lay in the products of the soil, only to be obtained by a life of hard labor. Hired labor could not be obtained to accomplish that result. Men would not work for others when their work for themselves would pay for their farm.

There was another circumstance which exerted some influence upon the members of the Indiana colony. A number of the leaders of the emigrants in the Indiana colony were men of Puritan faith and principles, which moulded their lives and characters. They believed implicitly in God's providence in the affairs of men, and that moral forces rule the world. The moral and religious supremacy of the Indiana settlement was early one of its distinguishing features. Its ministers and many of its leaders believed in positive and demonstrative Christianity as opposed to mere forms. They were not, however, subject to the criticism made against the backwoodsmen, where public worship was very often directed and controlled by ignorant and uncouth native ministers.

George Flower says:²⁶

Rivals of the settlement, east of the mountains set on foot every disparaging report as to health, success, provisions, morals and religion.

²⁶ Sparks, *History of English Settlement in Edwards County*, 165.

Upon an emigrant refusing to land at Shawneetown on one occasion, on account of the absence of church services in the prairie settlement, arrangements were made for a shoemaker, Mr. Brown, to read printed sermons at Wanboro, in a little cabin, and another layman read the Episcopal service in the public library at Albion. On the arrival of Richard Flower in 1819, he "preached" regularly every Sunday, the dissenters service without church organization.

The slaveholders who attacked Birkbeck, denounced him unfairly, as an infidel. He had, in one of his letters (No. 20), admitted writing a preacher who offered to come to his colony to fight infidelity and bigotry saying he had not a word to say to that offer "dissuasive or encouraging" and that bigotry "is a disease for which I think no remedy is so effective as letting alone." The preacher did not come. The press attacked him for his alleged irreligion in other utterances.

The *Eclectic Review* of 1818 denounced as a profane jest his motto on the title page of his letters, "Vox clamantis e deserto." The same motto is used in a similar manner in the *New Purchase*, Chap. X, by a prominent Presbyterian divine in a description of pioneer life in Indiana, with seeming propriety.

No doubt there was unfair criticism of the "theology" of these promoters, but the absence of ministers, with a practical rebuff to one who desired to come to the Wanboro settlement, had its effect upon some of the deeply spiritual and religious men among the emigrants. Father Parrett and Father Wheeler, who settled in the Indiana colony in 1819, were educated Wesleyan ministers and for a generation exercised great influence among the people with whom religion was a matter of the first importance.

How far the personal equation figured in the creation of two colonies instead of one, one in Illinois and one in Indiana, cannot now be determined. Flower's book was written at the end of a long life, after he had ceased to be a part of it, giving many interesting details of the founding of the Illinois colony. He outlines fully the world-wide importance of the step. He omits to give credit to many others for the

work of establishing the colony on a practical basis, claiming, it is said, undue credit for himself and Birkbeck.²⁷

Elias P. Fordham is described by Colyer as "the main stay of the English settlement," who was the leader in many practical affairs of vital importance. The records of Edwards county show he collected his surveyor's fees for surveying Albion by a judgment in court against Richard Flower. Not long afterwards Fordham left the settlement and returned to England.

In Hartt's *Centennial History of Illinois*²⁸ there is a strong implication that James Lawrence, an English tailor, a picturesque character, had been overlooked by the historians of the Illinois settlement.

Nowhere in Flower's book is any reference made to the British settlement in Pennsylvania, nor to the publication of Dr. C. B. Johnson in 1819-1820, containing a prospectus of that settlement as a preface to his *Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania*. In this book, Johnson followed the line of Birkbeck's letters and attracted much attention in England and America. Dr. Johnson, besides attacking the promoters of the prairie colony, when in New York, later became an active promoter of the Pennsylvania colony, urged as containing greater advantages than a colony so far west, either in "Illinois or Indiana." The Pennsylvania colony was organized in 1819 at a meeting of a number of Englishmen who had been attracted by Birkbeck's *Notes* and had come to America intending to join his colony. Its short history is interesting and sheds light on the present inquiry.

On reaching New York, Dr. C. B. Johnson, on his way to Illinois, met Cobbett, who placed before him the advantages of settling east of the mountains, and the hardships, ill health and suffering in the far west, and poisoned his mind both against Birkbeck and George Flower personally, upon which Johnson attacked the western settlement and personally attacked George Flower and Birkbeck.²⁹ Similar attacks were made in England about the same time.

²⁷ Address of Walter Colyer on the Fordhams and La Serres of the English settlement in Edwards County; *Ill. State His. Soc. Proc.* 1911, p. 43.

²⁸ *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1918.

²⁹ George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois*, 195.

As one of a committee of five he made a contract with Dr. Robert H. Rose for an option to buy a maximum amount of forty thousand acres in Susquehanna county, or any smaller amount, for an English colony. Rose held one hundred thousand acres in a body extending into eight townships. He had, several years previously, advertised substantially the same scheme of a colony and had established a settlement of New England farmers on the tract. Although his terms were easy, between April, 1813, and September, 1815, over one hundred suits had been brought against New England settlers unable to pay the price of three dollars per acre.

In 1818 Rose advertised still easier terms to settlers, bought out the small improvements of the New England settlers who had made small clearings and sold them to the English, who undertook to carry on the scheme which had been abandoned by the New Englanders. The English remained only three or four years and the settlement failed.³⁰

A third colony, of negroes, was established by Rose and proved a still greater failure. Finally the location was settled by Irish laborers, who were stranded in the country on the failure in the construction of a canal.

To Dr. Johnson's volume as a preface was prefixed a prospectus by the Philadelphia committee, stating with detail the scheme of the Pennsylvania colony, and showing that the amount of additional cost of an emigrant going to the far west would buy 120 acres of land in the new settlement. The book urged the unhealthy conditions in Indiana and Illinois, danger from Indians in case of war, the absence of markets, the privations and extreme hardships from which a number of disappointed emigrants had turned back, and presented the many advantages of markets and location so near to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.³¹ It showed that success by the individual emigrant could be had in north-eastern Pennsylvania easier and with less privations than in

³⁰ Emily C. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Penn.*, 453. Stocker, *Susquehanna County Centennial History*, 502

³¹ C. B. Johnson, *Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania*, 1819, Phila. & London.

the west, which was probably true, with land equally productive. But it was a settlement in the wilderness where success demanded a life of sacrifice and hard labor which the settlers were unwilling to devote and from which escape was very easy.

Dr. Johnson was an educated man who seemed honest in his account, which is a valuable record and description of details of American backwoods life of that time, both east and west of the mountains.

Birkbeck's *Notes* and *Letters* give an optimistic, yet substantially truthful account of the prospects of an English settler in the far west.

Dr. Johnson's *Letters* present all of the facts against them by a competitor. After three or four years he moved to Binghamton, New York, where he died in 1845 at the age of 65. Of him, the historian of the Pennsylvania settlement says:

More than one English emigrant bemoaned the day he read *Johnson's Letters*, and heaped upon the author accusations born of disappointment. "Too rose colored," his descriptions may have been; but so, also, were the notions of town-bred people respecting their own capacity to endure the inevitable ills attendant upon pioneer life.³²

The Pennsylvania settlement had underlying it the element of speculation by the original proprietor of the land, not dissimilar to that of Birkbeck's and Flower's schemes, and the land was hilly and it seems not very productive. Hornbrook, Ingle, Maidlow and other leaders of the Indiana colony were men of strong character who preferred entire independence of promoters. They issued no prospectus, published no advertisements. All settlers and land owners bought from the government and were on perfect equality. They realized the necessities of their position and devoted their lives to their work.

The reflected light from the literature and history of the Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois settlement shows in a measure the obstacles which deterred the more timid and less resolute. These obstacles were far greater in the wilderness

³² Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Penn.*, 545.

of the far west than those east of the mountains to which the Pennsylvania colony succumbed.

Of the English settlement in Indiana and its relative importance in 1820, John Woods, who lived two years in the Illinois prairie settlement, and was not biased against the Indiana colony, says:³³

There is an English settlement in Indiana about ten miles back of Evansville, I have heard, better watered, and nearer markets than we; but it is in the woods and the land is inferior to ours. This is the account I have received of it, but I know nothing only from the report of those who have no interest in either settlement.

I have no personal knowledge of Mr. Hornbrook or Mr. Maidlow, the heads of that settlement; and should any person see my account of this part of the country and come to America, I would advise him to see both settlements before he fixed in either.

Faux's travels west of the Alleghenies, a round trip of over 1,600 miles, were made to visit an old friend, John Ingle, of Saundersville, upon a compact made between him and John Ingle, of Somersham, who agreed to look after Faux's affairs during his absence, if the latter would visit his son in America. Faux spent five weeks in John Ingle's cabin, the picture of which is the frontispiece of his book.

With John Ingle, he visited New Harmony and Albion and Wanboro and was by Ingle introduced to George Flower and Birkbeck. Faux talked with both these men, as well as the third party connected with their quarrel, and his apparently confidential conversations with all of them are published by him, though of no public interest.

Faux's descriptions are without any literary merit, and so described in the English reviews of the time, and are only valuable as a record of facts which he saw, as he was doubtless honest. His sensibilities were so shocked by the simplicity, sacrifices and hardships of a life in the wilderness, of men and women raised in the old country, with its conveniences and comforts, that he was unable to describe them in anything but terms of impatience and coarse abuse.

It should be said that when he visited the settlement in

³³ Woods, *English Prairie*, 251; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, X, 321.

November, 1819, it was in its infancy, so to speak, in the agonies of birth, and things were at their worst. In a short time many of the conditions Faux describes improved and most of his dire predictions were never verified. His narration deals with events of trifling importance in the daily life of the people without sense of propriety or proportions of most of them. The privacy of the lives of the people was no shield from his attacks. The Saundersville settlement, with its people and its surroundings, occupies a greater portion of the diary of which his volume is composed than any other single subject in the book. It is particularly valuable, however, as it is the only published record of the early time, other than Woods' reference above set out, in which any information whatever is given of the settlement in Indiana.

George Flower, who wrote his book forty years later, mentions Hornbrook, Ingle and Maidlow. He knew them all well, and knew that they all had intended to join his settlement, that Ingle came over in his ship with him, and that Hornbrook was the father of the Indiana settlement, so called by Woods and Faux, and he had ground to believe that Hornbrook did not like him. He goes out of his way, and of the facts, to avoid mentioning the Indiana colony, nowhere mentioned in his book, when in speaking only once of Hornbrook, he says:³⁴

It was in 1818 or 1819 that Mr. Hornbrook of Devizes, Devonshire, called on me, as he came to see the settlement; but having made previous decision to remain at Pigeon Creek, Indiana, where Evansville now stands.

For the latter statement no foundation existed. Hornbrook located at once where he remained, as already stated.

The British view of the importance of the emigration movement so vividly described in Birkbeck's *Notes* is thus given in the *Edinburgh Review*:³⁵

The spectacle presented by America during the last thirty or forty years—ever since her emancipation began to produce its full effect, and since she fairly entered the lists as an independent nation with a completely popular government, has been, beyond everything formerly known

³⁴ *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County*, 162.

³⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, June, 1818, XXX 121.

in the history of mankind, imposing and instructive. In order to contemplate its wonders with complete advantage, an observer ought to have visited the New World twice in the course of a few years. A single view is insufficient to exhibit this progress in the States already settled; for there, quickly as the changes are going on, the process of creation is not actually seen at once, or disclosed, as it were, to the eye; some interval of time must be allowed, and the comparison then shows the extent of the wonderful change. But the extraordinary state of things in the western part of the Union, developed by Mr. Birkbeck, shows us the process both of colonization and increase at one glance. We see exposed to the naked eye, the whole mystery of the generation as well as the growth of nations; we at once behold in what manner the settled parts of America are increasing with unparalleled rapidity; and how new and extensive communities are daily created in the plains and the forests of the west, by the superfluous population of the eastern settlements. Those settlements assume a novel and a striking aspect.

Predicting the future of the settlements in Illinois and Indiana, the *Review* adds:

A frugal and industrious people here established is morally certain of rising to the rank of a great state in the course of a few generations.

In closing the article, the *Review* adds:³⁶

It is impossible to close this interesting volume, without casting our eyes upon the marvelous empire of which Mr. Birkbeck paints the growth in colours far more striking than any heretofore used in portraying it. Where is this prodigious increase of numbers, this vast extension of dominion to end? What bounds has nature set to the progress of this mighty nation? Let our jealousy burn as it may, let our intolerance of America be as unreasonably violent as we please; still it is plain, that she is a power in spite of us, rapidly rising to supremacy; or, at least, that each year so mightily augments her strength, as to overtake, by a most sensible distance, even the most formidable of her competitors.

George Flower, who had been the guest of Thomas Jefferson the previous winter, wrote the latter, asking his aid in the effort to get an act of congress for the purchase of 40,000 acres in one body. Mr. Jefferson answered the letter, promising his aid.³⁷

Not on the selfish principle of increasing our population at the expense of other nations, for the additions are but as a drop in a bucket to those

³⁶ *Edinburgh Review*, XXX, 137.

³⁷ George Flower, *English Settlement in Edwards County*, 178.

by natural procreation, but to consecrate a sanctuary for those whom the misrule of Europe may compel to seek happiness in other climes, this refuge, once known, will produce reaction, even to those there, by warning their task-masters that when the evils of Egyptian oppression become heavier than those of abandonment of country, another Canaan is opened, where their subjects will be received as brothers and secured from like oppression by a participation in the rights of self-government.

After eloquently setting forth the advantages and blessings of good government, a motive, he continues in his letter:

You have set your country a good example, by showing them a practicable mode of reducing their rulers to the necessity of becoming more wise, more moderate, and more honest, and I sincerely pray that the example may work for the benefit of those who cannot follow it, as it will for your own.

ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The organization of county and township government in Vanderburgh county began in 1818, contemporaneously with the coming of the British emigrants. These were not treated as foreigners and regarded themselves a part of the body of the county, owners of the soil and ready to take an active part in all civic duties. While members of the settlement in the beginning were located very closely together, with Saundersville as the village center, it was never a separate community, so far as sympathies with American ideals and surroundings were concerned.

Treating the members of the British settlement as a separate source of influence, with ideals and culture transplanted from the old world into the wilderness of the new, there may be said to have been at the beginning two other classes of people in Vanderburgh county, the influence of which may be for the time separately traced. These were best represented by the southern backwoodsmen and their leaders, men of strong personality, and a few men from New England, New York and other Atlantic coast States.

At this period in the union of all these elements, was the beginning of a new and composite social and political order in this locality, less homogeneous in some respects than its surroundings, including the population south of the river, but more cosmopolitan as the result of such a union.

Warrick county had been the parent county, which from 1814 to 1818 had furnished local government in a most primitive manner, over large territory, mostly a wilderness. Previous to that time, Vincennes, the territorial county seat of Knox county, had been the nearest seat of justice, too far distant to be of much service to the few scattered settlers. By an unwritten law, the right of self-defense and the doctrine of immediate personal responsibility for a violation of individual rights, among the natives, maintained order, sufficient for the time.

Vincennes was the capital of the territory and the mother city of the northwest during this period. Princeton was incorporated in 1814 and was a thriving village described by Faux in 1819³⁸ as containing 105 houses, 19 streets, one prison and one meeting house. Henderson, Kentucky, then known as Red Banks, was near the western boundary of immigration in Kentucky in 1803 and earlier, and was early an organized community of commercial influence, with a church and school, including an excellent Female Seminary. In this town the first Evansville merchants bought much of their stocks. The route of travel across the river from Kentucky into Indiana through Vanderburgh county, was over the ferry at the mouth of Green river, the ferry opposite Evansville, and the ferry at Red Banks, between which point and Vincennes there was considerable travel. In low water the Indian trail crossed the Ohio river at a ford already described.

In the first decade of the last century, the immigrants from Kentucky, who were practical woodsmen and familiar with the nature of the soil, passed by the high land of central and north Vanderburgh county, which was not so productive as the lands in Gibson and Posey counties. A majority of these immigrants from Kentucky settled in what later became Gibson county on the north, in preference to the locality of Vanderburgh county.

Before the English came, there were already upon the ground several leading men born in England, who had emi-

³⁸ *Thuwaite's Early Western Travels*, XI, 224.

grated to the Atlantic coast States, and who had come westward with the tide of emigration through Virginia and Kentucky into Indiana. Samuel Scott, Everton Kennerly, Richard Carlisle, the Prichetts and some of the Fairchilds, though of English birth, were as distinctly American as were any of the natives among whom they intermingled.

These men immediately identified themselves with members of the English settlement, and on the other hand, the latter became identified with all matters of public interest equally with the natives. The act of the legislature creating Vanderburgh county named the house of Samuel Scott—the center of the settlement to be—as the place of meeting of the commissioners named in the act, to select the county seat, and Evansville was thus chosen.

Richard Carlisle had been a justice of peace in Warrick, before Vanderburgh county was formed. He was a blacksmith, and the only man, shown by the records, who held his own in personal encounter with the turbulent Hugh McGary, the younger.

Everton Kennerly, like Carlisle, of English birth, a brother-in-law of Samuel Scott, was a natudal leader and one of the most active and useful public men in the township, town and county for many years.

Elisha Harrison, a second cousin of William Henry Harrison, former territorial governor of Indiana, and later President of the United States, lived, when the county was formed, on a farm west of Samuel Scott, and represented Warrick county in the legislature when Vanderburgh was created, when he moved to Evansville. He was a native, of Virginia Revolutionary stock, and the first state senator elected from Vanderburgh county. He was an able man, of many excellent traits, public spirited, well educated and until his death in 1825 or 1826, was in the front of every public movement, and freely invested his fortune in public enterprises, more perhaps than any man of his time. He established and maintained the Evansville *Weekly Gazette* at a loss for about four and one-half years.³⁹ With a mechanic

³⁹ The Evansville *Gazette* had a contract for publishing the laws of congress, and the state department saved about three and one-half years issue of the paper,

as a partner, he built the first courthouse in the county. The owner of the ferry on the Ohio at Evansville was indicted for neglect of this public duty. Harrison bought his equipment, erected or purchased a tavern on a Water street lot, took out a license for the ferry in his own name and maintained it opposite "Chutes" Tavern. When salt works were the most desirable addition to the town then hoped for, Harrison, at much expense, with his partner in general merchandise, James W. Jones, sank a well on Pigeon creek and found salt water at 463 feet, which event was announced with great expectations, and furnished the occasion for a short but valuable sketch of Evansville in 1824.⁴⁰ He was brigadier general in the militia.⁴¹

Ratliff Boone, born in Georgia, a grandson of Israel Boone, brother of Daniel Boone, lived in Boonville, Warrick county, was lieutenant governor and governor of Indiana, and for many years congressman of this district.

Robert M. Evans, a man of much prominence, and James W. Jones, both of Princeton, came to Evansville about 1819. Evans came to Knox county in 1805. When Gibson county was organized in 1814 he became and remained county clerk for over four years. Col. William M. Cockrum, whose father lived a few miles east of Evans, says he was during that time the leading man in the county and managed its business affairs.⁴²

David Hart, son of one of the Hart brothers, of Richard Henderson & Co., in pioneer Kentucky, was first circuit judge of Vanderburgh county, and lived in Princeton.

James R. E. Goodlett, born in Virginia, was for more than ten years his successor as circuit judge, and lived in Vanderburgh county.

Hugh McGary, the elder, with his family came out of North Carolina with Daniel Boone in 1775, was an Indian

now in the Congressional Library, the only copy in existence. It has escaped the historian.

⁴⁰ *Evansville Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1824.

⁴¹ *Id.*, May 7, 1823.

⁴² Ex-Governor Joseph Lane gives to Evans and Ratliff Boone a place of prominence among the men of the State. *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.), 102.

fighter of undisputed bravery, and a figure of the heroic age in the west. In his old age, he settled in Knox county about 1804 and died there in 1806 near where Princeton was later located. The McGarys lived in that locality when in 1812 Hugh McGray, the younger, entered fractional section 30, upon which Evansville was later located. As such original proprietor he became a local celebrity in Evansville, concerning whom a number of historical facts exist in the records, some of which have been incorrectly recorded in local history.

James W. Jones was from Kentucky and was clerk of Vanderburgh county for many years and was the head of a family of influence. His son, James Gerard Jones, was first mayor of the city of Evansville and in 1859 was attorney general of Indiana. He was probably related to John G. Jones, the first chairman of the Committee of Safety in the county of Kentucky, before it became a state. John G. Jones was murdered by Indians December 25, 1776. John G. Jones was succeeded as such chairman by Hugh McGary, the elder, upon whom the women and children in Kentucky much depended for safety in the Indian wars. Jones, Evans and McGary platted Evansville as it was permanently located in 1817.

Joseph Lane,⁴³ born in Kentucky, became a citizen of Vanderburgh county when his farm on two sides was made the line between that county and Warrick. Boone legislated Lane out of his county, as the latter was a man of great popularity. This fact accounts for the irregular eastern line of Vanderburgh county.⁴⁴ He defeated Evans in the race for the legislature in Vanderburgh county, of which Evans gives an amusing explanation in the *Evansville Gazette*. Lane became governor of and United States senator from Oregon and was an unsuccessful candidate before the people of the United States on the Breckenridge and Lane Presidential ticket in 1860.

General Washington Johnston, the earliest member of the Vincennes bar, came there from Virginia in 1792. He was

⁴³ An adequate sketch of General Joseph Lane is found in Woolen's *Sketches of Early Indiana Leaders*.

⁴⁴ *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, Fortune, 73, note.

before the public in many forms during his life.⁴⁵ He was a revolutionary soldier.⁴⁶ In 1819 when the panic affected the country so that the grain rotted in the fields and Vincennes lost one-half of its population⁴⁷, Johnston came to

In 1824 half the houses in Evansville were vacant, said to have been the result of sickness in the locality, but it is probable the panic still existing had much to do with it. Autobiography of Joseph Tarkington, 99.

Evansville, where he lived not over a year, but during 1819, the record shows that he was deputy county clerk. He speculated in land in all the neighboring counties, as their deed records show, but he returned to Vincennes.

George W. Lindsay, another attorney of the Vincennes bar, came at the same time with Johnston, was prosecuting attorney of Vanderburgh county, one term of court in 1819. He became the first probate judge in Vanderburgh county in 1829, served many years, and died here. His wife and two daughters moved to Posey county.

Levi Igleheart, Sr., from Tidewater, Maryland, settled in Kentucky in 1815, where his sons, Asa and Levi, Jr., were born and in 1823 he settled in Warrick county, Indiana, on the eastern boundary of the English settlement, where his son William was born; near this point, then and later, a dozen English families including the Lockyears, settled. Two of his sons married daughters and one a niece of John Ingle, of Saundersville, all granddaughters of John Ingle, of Somersham. One of his daughters married Mark Wheeler, and one John Erskine.

These men were all from Kentucky or came from Virginia or more southerly states through Kentucky. They were chief among the native leaders of the earliest settlers with whom the English emigrants mingled upon their arrival or soon afterwards. There were a number of other intelligent, successful and influential people from the south and east, as well as from Great Britain, who lived in and near Evansville during this period, but it is beyond the scope of this article to write a history of early Evansville, or even to furnish a

⁴⁵ Dunn, *History of Indiana*, 355.

⁴⁶ *Indiana Magazine of History*, June, 1914, p. 54.

⁴⁷ Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. 1, p. 280 and note.

list of the names of its leading citizens. The scattered settlers in the counties bordering on the north side of the Ohio river were chiefly from the south and brought with them southern ideals. These leaders from the south represented the great body of the scattered backwoodsmen when the English came, who, with those from New York and New England and the leaders of the British settlement,

were all stern men with Empires in their brains.

The definite and prompt protection of individual rights, under the enforcement of law, had been uncertain in the backwoods of the west. Public opinion sometimes justified methods in private life, which in the older communities were regarded as lawless, and turbulent spirits, under the influence of liquor, sometimes defied the law.

Complaint was made by Faux, Fearon and other travelers, as well as by Cobbett and by Dr. Johnson (both of whom were biased in their judgments), in the war of pamphlets between the British colonies east and west of the Alleghenies, that such a condition existed in this section at the time of which we write. In speaking of this subject, Dr. Johnson, who had never been west of the mountains, wrote:⁴⁸

I had formed an erroneous opinion of a woodsman. I expected to find rude manners; but the people here behave with great civility and propriety. I have not heard a single instance of profane language, or indecent expression, in this settlement. An air of comfort pervades the habitations of the humblest kind; and in general, the demeanour of the wife shows her to have her full share of the family control. These people are almost all from the New England States; by which name is designated the section of country north and east of New York, which has always been remarked for the enterprise and good moral conduct of its citizens. To the inhabitants of this section of the United States, who are also distinguished by their shrewdness, the term Yankee is applied; and not, as it is understood in England, to all the States. A Yankee, therefore, means a native of New England. The civility of disposition in which they are educated at home, is taken abroad with them, and they are said to form a class of settlers far superior to those who emigrate from the southern States to the western wilderness.

Flower intimates that Johnson was a land speculator and the history of the Pennsylvania settlement adds color to that

⁴⁸ C. B. Johnson, M. D., *Letters from the British Settlement in Penn.*, 111.

suspicion. The latter had not lived among the woodsmen and allowance should be made for a strong bias against the far west.

If the proper allowance be made for the lapse of time, required in the successive waves of emigration from the Atlantic coast frontier to the frontier in the wilderness along the Ohio and the Wabash rivers in 1818, it will appear that the men on the frontier first mentioned, in 1750 and later, had much the same "boisterous tastes and dangerous amusements of frontiersmen" as those on the latter "from the south," as Johnson reports, quoting the very guarded admission of a distinguished New England Historian.⁴⁹

The North Atlantic coast States had their share of bond servants and redemptioners as well as the southern States.⁵⁰ As late as 1820, the rabid anti-American reviews in England were quoting Dr. Johnson's remark "that the Americans are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short or hanging."⁵¹

The effect and necessities of the institution of slavery had prevented the emigration of independent foreign labor into the south to any considerable extent. The southern people were a homogeneous people and so remained. The English people were hostile to slavery. Those emigrants who preferred slave labor passed on to Missouri, in large numbers. The institution of slavery and its necessities in molding the law, public opinion, and customs of the people, were objectionable to anti-slavery Englishmen and to anti-slavery people in America.

In fact, the original location for the English settlement, later made in the Illinois prairie, by Birkbeck and Flower, of which the Indiana settlement was a part would probably have been in Virginia, but for the existence of slavery in that State. George Flower spent his first winter with Thomas Jefferson (as a distinguished guest) at his home in

⁴⁹ Albert Bushnell Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 18.

⁵⁰ John R. Commons, *Industrial History of the U. S.*, 42. Commons estimates that probably one-half of all the immigrants landed in the colonial period as indentured servants. The Plymouth settlers brought with them "bond servants." Moore's *Industrial History of the American People*, 109.

⁵¹ *Electic Review*, May, 1820, 401.

Virginia, and seriously considered establishing his colony there. Birkbeck vetoed the plan on account of slavery.⁵²

On the north side of the Ohio river, new conditions existed. A fierce struggle for the control of Indiana by slave owners, from the time of establishment of the territory until the admission of the State in 1816, for a while practically maintained slavery in form in the territory⁵³; but it was forbidden on the admission of the State to the Union.

It cannot be denied that among the intellectual and leading men in this community of that time, who came from Kentucky, Virginia and North Carolina, the English and New England, idea of maintenance of public order by law, without the doctrine of personal responsibility for a personal affront, did not have always the fullest support.

Faux himself, indulging in one of his inconsistent moods, gave a very plausible reason why fear of instant punishment for an insult was often a preventive more effective than the fear of possible punishment by law in the distant future. He also gave an excuse for carrying side-arms in Kentucky, as necessary to protection of law-abiding citizens from the gouging and nose-biting rowdies, when in liquor. Judge David Hart resigned as judge soon after his election or appointment, on account of a challenge he had given.⁵⁴ Judge J. R. E. Goodlett, of the circuit court, was indicted by the grand jury for provoke and assault in drawing a sword cane. His two associate judges, both laymen, quashed the indictment on the ground, as the record shows, that the law on which the indictment was based was *unconstitutional*. While on the bench he had a newspaper controversy with Robert M. Evans, started by the latter, resulting in recriminations, and Colonel Cockrum is authority for the statement that a duel to the death between them was avoided only by the severest measures of mutual friends. After Goodlett retired from the bench, he assaulted Judge Samuel Hall, his successor, while presiding in court on the bench and was im-

⁵² Thwaite, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 240.

⁵³ Dunn, *History of Indiana*, Chapters VI and IX.

⁵⁴ Thwaite, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 215.

prisoned for contempt. The members of the bar of the circuit published a statement condemning him.⁵⁵

Robert M. Evans, Elisha Harrison, Hugh McGary and all of his brothers, State Senator, later Governor Ratliff Boone, and others were indicted and tried for misdemeanors, generally assault and battery. Some well-known persons were indicted for more serious offenses. Doubtless it was true that resort was had to the grand jury in a number of cases then, which to us now seem trivial. Probably the excuses for such very strict and frequent use of the law existed in the fact that there was in the beginning a vicious, lawless and dangerous element in the lower classes, which without the fear of the law, stopped at nothing. It did not hesitate to defy the law at the beginning, and until the supremacy of the law was fully vindicated, which, as will appear, was soon done. It needs no argument to make clear that even the lawless element of that period, as they appear to us now, became such in part at least, as the result of the great sacrifice made by them and their ancestors in performing their work, of conquering and holding the land west of the mountains from the Indians. For several generations they had been sentinels on the border of civilization. But for this work also, in occupying the land conquered by George Rogers Clark, the treaty between Great Britain and the Colonies at the close of the Revolutionary war would have left the territory north of the Ohio river part of Canada, as England then regarded it.⁵⁶

The historian, after describing the rugged frontiersmen and backwoodsmen of the "up country," says:

Had the settlement of Kentucky depended on the achievement of Tidewater Virginians, it would be at this moment a kingdom of red Indians and a pasture for wild buffaloes.⁵⁷

But the issue was now to be settled in the new State of Indiana, between law and order on the one hand and lawlessness on the other. John Law, a young lawyer of Vincennes, a native of Connecticut, had just begun the practice of law in

⁵⁵ *History of Posey County* (Chicago, 1886), 432.

⁵⁶ George Elliott Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, 241. C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*, 271-284.

⁵⁷ Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky*, 25.

Vincennes, when he was appointed prosecuting attorney for Vanderburgh county. He served as the first prosecutor, beginning with the March term, 1818, and continued for more than two years, when he resigned. He was an efficient prosecutor, as the records which have been preserved show, but the order book records of the circuit court of the county for 1818 and 1819 are not preserved.⁵⁸ Some years later he moved to Evansville.

For many years following John Law as prosecutor, Amos Clark was the prosecuting attorney. He came from New York State when first Evansville was made the county seat. He was an educated man and a very able lawyer. He was upon one side or the other of practically all of the cases, and sole attorney in very many cases which did not require adverse representation of counsel in court. He was a man of high moral character, had high ideals, and was fearless in the administration of the law. He prosecuted some of the leading men of the community and their relatives, as already stated. Several men of prominence in the beginning of Evansville were lawless spirits and attempted to defy the law and public opinion. With these men Amos Clark measured, and within four or five years the records show he had vindicated the law and thoroughly broken up all attempts to defy it. The community owes more to Amos Clark than is known.

Charles I. Battell, a Massachusetts lawyer, was for a short time the prosecuting attorney, and later, in the 30's, judge of the circuit court. Alanson Warner was from Connecticut, was the second man elected to the office of sheriff and was a tactful, useful, and influential man in the community for a generation.⁵⁹

In this enforcement of the law, the grand juries were the source of power, and much of the time the leading and dominating men upon the grand jury were from the British set-

⁵⁸ *Life of John Law*, by Charles Denby. *Indiana Historical Soc. Pub.*, V. I, No. 7.

⁵⁹ His shrewd character may be seen in an advertisement in the *Gazette* warning tax payers to pay, but offering to take produce at his tavern from farmers as credit on their taxes—a real accommodation to the people in an almost moneyless age. *Evansville Gazette*, May 31, 1824.

tlement, and at all times there were representatives of that settlement upon the grand jury. In like manner this element was prominent in the trial of cases on the regular panel of the jury of the court, which tried men indicted for offenses against the law. In matters of public opinion in support of the law, there were a number of men in the settlement who were very influential and of great value in supporting the administration of justice. Particularly among these were Robert Parrett and Joseph Wheeler, ministers of the gospel, whose careers formed a very important part of the development of this community for a period of thirty years.

THE EARLY HOOSIERS

It may be interesting at this point to speak of the body of Hoosier settlers, with whom the English came in contact, who were not so prominent as the leaders mentioned. For the reason already given, the rich country around where Princeton is now located had been settled a number of years earlier than Vanderburgh county. Upon the coming of the English, Princeton, then two years old, was chosen as headquarters by Birkbeck, Flower and Fordham, where they lived before the settlement in the prairie in Illinois was prepared for them. All of these persons frequently mention Princeton and its people.

John Ingle, one of the leaders of the Indiana colony, lived one season in Princeton before coming to the Saundersville settlement. So the travelers of the time, who all visited New Harmony, usually came or went by Princeton and Vincennes, on account of good accommodations for travelers in roads and taverns and Princeton is frequently mentioned in the literature of the time. The subsequent history of Princeton and Gibson county establishes the fact that the body of the people of this town were a fair type of the people in the country, in no substantial degree different, and were of the same origin, already referred to. They were a fair type of Hoosier pioneers, who located in Indiana from 1801 to 1818.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ *Autobiography of Rev. Joseph Tarkington*. A representative native pioneer, born in 1800 in Tennessee, of poor but respectable North Carolina parentage,

The fairest description of the common people of southern Indiana in 1817 and 1818, which we have seen, was written by Morris Birkbeck, who sought to discover all that was good in them, but who stated both sides in his descriptions. In the article already cited, from the *Edinburgh Review* of June, 1818, so fully reviewing Birkbeck's *Notes on America*, occurs the following:⁶¹

The rapidity with which new settlements are formed in this manner, is illustrated by Mr. Birkbeck's whole book; but nothing tends more clearly to show it than the state of society which he found at Princeton, where he took up his abode while his land was preparing to receive him. This is a small town, placed at the further limit of Indiana, and founded only two years before our author's arrival. It contained fifty houses; was the county town of the district; and contained (says Mr. B) as many "well informed, genteel people, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as any county town I am acquainted with." "I think," he adds, "there are half as many individuals who are entitled to that distinction as there are houses; and not one decidedly vicious character, nor one that is not able and willing to maintain himself."

His notes and letters contain many other descriptions of the plain people. One of the best descriptions of the country and the people in Indiana and Ohio at a period earlier than that described by Birkbeck is found in the *Travels* of John Bradbury in 1809-1811, published by him in 1819, with comments of that later time, reviewing and discriminating unfriendly criticism of travelers who rapidly passed through the county, similar to those already mentioned. In regard to the manners of the people west of the Alleghenies, he says, on account of the mixture of so many races and elements, it would be absurd to expect that a general character could then be formed, or that it would be for many years to come. After referring to the entire absence of feeling existing be-

came with his parents in 1815 to Patoka, in Gibson county, Indiana, to live in a free territory. Later the family settled in Monroe county. He was converted in that county, spent a short time in the Indiana Seminary under Hall, principal, was persuaded by the circuit riders to enter the Methodist ministry and later travelled the Vevay circuit in which Eggleston lived. He lived over seventy-five years in Indiana. His simple account of pioneer life as real history is worth more than the novels of any writer of fiction, either dialectic, or otherwise. He was the father of the late John S. Tarkington, a prominent citizen of Indianapolis, and grandfather of Booth Tarkington, the author.

⁶¹ *Edinburgh Review*, XXX, 136.

tween classes, as in Europe, and the equality in natural rights asserted by and conceded to the humblest citizen, Bradbury says:⁶²

Travelers from Europe, in passing through the western country or indeed any part of the United States, ought to be previously acquainted with this part of the American character, and more particularly if they have been in the habit of treating with contempt, or irritating with abuse, those whom accidental circumstances may have placed in a situation to administer to their wants. Let no one here indulge himself in abusing the waiter or hostler at the inn; that waiter or hostler is probably a citizen, and does not, nor can he, conceive that a situation in which he discharges a duty to society, not in itself dishonorable, should subject him to insult, but this feeling, so far as I have experienced, is entirely defensive.

I have travelled near ten thousand miles in the United States and never received the least incivility or affront.

There is nothing in Birkbeck's description of the people of Princeton with whom he and Flower and Fordham, with their families, mingled, when they lived there, inconsistent with the descriptions of Edward Eggleston's novel, *The Hoosier School Master*, nor those of Baynard Rush Hall in the *New Purchase*. The difference is in the view point.

Consistent with all Birkbeck says, had he been searching for material for a dialect story of low Hoosier life, he would probably have found it in Princeton.

This was the purpose of Eggleston, who found what he sought.⁶³ As a correct description of Hoosier dialect in low life, the writer can testify that practically all of his dialect phrases and words are true to life and as such a dialect study the work is a classic. But while the author never made any claim that the book contains any description of the better class of Hoosiers who lived in southern Indiana at the beginning of the State, or the time of which he writes, he fails to guard that class against the opinion so generally formed out of the State that he was describing its people.

Dr. Eggleston knew the interpretation the literary world put upon the *Hoosier School Master*, as a portrayal of early Hoosier life. He found it necessary to vindicate his own

⁶² Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, V, 292.

⁶³ Edward Eggleston, *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, As to dialect in Southern Indiana, see also *The Hoosiers*, by Meredith Nicholson, 45.

origin from the suspicion of common birth and low associations.⁶⁴ In 1890 he published an autobiographical sketch, a delightful article, the chief purpose of which seems to be to clear his memory and that of his ancestors.⁶⁵

Among the many of such unfriendly interpretations was one by the *Atlantic Monthly*, in reviewing one of his novels, which he says in his introduction to his biography, sympathetically remarked on the hardship it must have been to a "highly organized man" to be born in southern Indiana, in an age of hard-cider campaigns. In resenting this, and praising Vevay, his birthplace, he confines his defense or eulogy to the beauty of its location and of the natural scenery surrounding it—"one of the loveliest villages on the Ohio river," but there is nothing in defense of the much misunderstood Hoosiers who lived there. The following sentence seems significant at this point:

I changed to the larger Indiana towns, along the Ohio river, where there was a semi-urban life of considerable refinement.

Only speaking of his own family he says he was "born in an intellectual atmosphere." While he vindicated himself and his family, he left it to time and to others, to do full justice to the better class of early Hoosier people. It cannot be doubted that this silence on the author's part, upon the interpretation thus widely given to this work, the most popular of all his books, was intentional on his part and that he had a motive in not "meddling" with the subject.

Two years later in 1892—he published a Library Edition of the book with a long and elaborate preface, which he calls a biography of the book, dealing with the history and character of the work, its wonderful success, and declares it to be the file leader of American dialect novels. His discussion along that line is novel and very interesting. He says:

This initial novel, the favorite of the larger public, has become inseparably associated with my name. I could not write in this vein now, if I would, and twenty-one years have made so many changes in me *that I dare not make any but minor changes in this work*. The author of the

⁶⁴ Introduction to Library Edition *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, 26.

⁶⁵ *The Forum*, Nov., 1890, p. 290.

Hoosier Schoolmaster is distinctly not I; I am but his heir and executor; and since he is a more popular writer than I, *why should I meddle with his work.*

No one knows so well as I the faults of immaturity and inexperience that characterize this book, but perhaps the public is right in preferring an author's first book, etc.

Here seems to be an explanation why the author had determined to keep "hands off" the book. Without discussing that subject, it seems clear that as a dialect novel of low life only, it is irrelevant, and should be excluded as a history of the better class of Hoosiers of that time. The writer has always regarded Dr. Eggleston as one of the leading American men of letters, of whom the Hoosiers should be justly proud. In his sketch of his life mentioned, he traces his ancestry on one side to the old Virginia aristocracy, and his short characterization of that people as they appeared to him, is a masterpiece, worthy of reproduction here. After stating that at sixteen, after his father's death, he was sent to live for a year in Virginia, he says:

The change from a free to a slave state, not yet entirely out of its pioneer crudities, to a society so fixed and conservative as that of the Old Dominion, was as great as the United States afforded at that time.

The old Virginia country-gentleman life had a fascination not possessed by any other society in the new world.

With its unbounded hospitality to all comers, its enormous family pride, its sharp line of distinction between the well-born and the plebeian, its social refinement, its narrow local prejudices, its chivalrous and romantic sentiment toward ladies, and a certain laxity of morals growing out of the existence of a slave class, it could not fail to excite a profound interest in the mind of one who had been bred in a simpler and less dignified society, in which proprieties were less regarded, and moralities somewhat more rigidly enforced. According to the Virginia method of reckoning, I was cousin to a large fraction of the population of the State; and I found myself a member of a powerful clan, at once domesticated, and given singular opportunities for knowing a life, which, in the new world and in the middle years of the nineteenth century was a curious anachronism.

The Virginians themselves I found a most lovable people, and admirable in their generosity and high sense of honor in public and private affairs. Even if their recklessness of danger and disregard of human life, where family or personal pride was involved, were barbarisms, they were at least barbarisms of the nobler sort. * * * Though I saw slavery

in its mildest forms among my relations I could not be blind to the manifold injustice and the unavoidable cruelties of the system.

Between the lines of this charming description may be observed a reserve, as though the author was addressing the American cosmopolitan world, which many believe centers east of the Alleghenies and north of the Potomac. At the same time his description seems to be full of sympathy. It is the conception of a man born in the north, of good southern stock, with northern education, rearing and ideals.

Had Eggleston remained west, in that deep sympathy with western life found in the character sketches of Judge James Hall,⁶⁶ of the same class of people described in Eggleston's work generally, it may be questioned whether his method of treatment would have been the same. Or, if so, whether he would not at least have made a reasonable effort to anticipate the unfriendly effect which his work was destined to produce upon the reputation of the early Hoosier pioneers, outside of the State. It is to be regretted that he neglected at this last opportunity to say a word on the subject.

Had Baynard Hall sought to find the coarse exhibitions of uncultured and ignorant people in Princeton, such as he described in the *New Purchase*, no doubt he could have found them. Many counterparts of his caricatures of offensive habits of common people could probably then and later have been found in New Jersey had he hunted for them there as he did in Indiana. His book is written anonymously and individuals are attacked under assumed names so that a key to the book is required. One future governor of the State, James Whitcomb, was grossly caricatured, if not libeled, upon the character of Joseph A. Wright, later governor, United States senator and United States minister to Prussia, was put a wholly uncalled for imputation. Hall's criticisms against the camp-meetings are severe. They are caricatured in a relentless manner with no expressions of sympathy with the people, nor their religious emotion, to mitigate the bitterness. His style is not unlike that of a theological con-

⁶⁶ See note 70.

troversialist of that age. Roosevelt truthfully describes in a sympathetic manner all of the scenes and conduct caricatured by Hall, but in a kindly spirit:

But though this might seem distasteful to an observer of education and self-restraint, it thrilled the heart of the rude and simple backwoodsman and reached him as he could not possibly have been reached in any other manner. On the whole there was an immense gain for good. The people received a new light and were given a sense of moral responsibility such as they had not previously possessed.⁶⁷

Against such unfair treatment of irresponsible critics, Roosevelt's virtues:

Plead like angels trumpet-tongued

with the descendants of the men of the "Western Waters."

The descriptions of early life and events in Indiana in the *New Purchase* are many of them very delightful. The daily life and experiences of men and women in their work, in the woods, their travels, and in their home life, described by Hall as he saw it, will always remain an interesting and truthful picture of the pioneer age of Indiana that has passed. It cannot be denied, however, that his view point of the people is that of a leading actor in the play of Hoosier life, where he failed to succeed, and he makes no effort to disguise his bitterness as a bad loser.

Strictures in these pages upon the man east of the Alleghenies and north of the Potomac are only intended for that class of people who have shown contempt for western people and western manners. The westerners have been misunderstood by such.⁶⁸ There were from the beginning tactful and liberal-minded Yankees and New Yorkers who adjusted perfectly to pioneer life and were among the most useful citizens. Some of them are mentioned among the early leaders with whom the English mingled on their arrival in the wilderness. Some of them have furnished the best record now existing of the Hoosier pioneers. Until after the public

⁶⁷ *Winning of the West* (The Men of the Western Waters), IV, 249.

⁶⁸ Crothers makes this clear in his comments on this class, including no less a person than James Russell Lowell, who calls the westerner "The Western Goth"—*The Pardoner's Wallet—Land of the free and charitable air*—160.

school system of Indiana was established, this class was the chief reliance of the city of Evansville for teachers.

Hall was wrecked on the shoals which even today confronts every eastern man who for the first time comes west as a minister or teacher among western people—shoals which a tactless and narrowminded man cannot successfully navigate.

Roosevelt truly says:

The opinion of any mere passer through a country is always less valuable than of an intelligent man who dwells and works among the people and who possesses both insight and sympathy.⁶⁹

Such a writer was Judge James Hall, a Philadelphian, educated to the bar, who served in the army, settled at Shawneetown, Illinois, in 1820. He was circuit judge during which he spent half his time on horseback traveling the circuit across the State and was in close touch with the whole people. Later he was treasurer of the State of Illinois, edited a magazine and wrote a number of interesting books on western life.⁷⁰ He was a leading man in the State, of his time. With a knowledge of these people among whom he spent his life and succeeded, he has given a fair, truthful and charming sketch of their character, free from the blemish of caricaturists, who have done so much to prejudice the people east of Indiana against the early Hoosiers. Frequently his description of the rustic class is just as vivid as is that found in the *New Purchase* or *The Hoosier School Master*, but it is given in a kindly spirit.

Isaac Reid, a Presbyterian missionary, was pastor for a year of a New Albany church in 1818, and for about ten years later lived in southern Indiana and had every opportunity of knowing and knew the people as well as any man of his time. His impartial and manifestly truthful descriptions of the intelligent and cultured class of Hoosiers, places them on an equality with those of any section in the old Northwest.⁷¹

Birkbeck and George Flower lived among and studied

⁶⁹ *Winning of the West*. Pt. 4, Ch. 1, 29.

⁷⁰ His best descriptions of people of this section are found in his *Romance of Western History or Sketches of History, Life and Manners of the West*.

⁷¹ *Indiana as seen by Early Travelers*—Lindley, 473-497. See also Caleb Atwater *Id.* 530, and Charles E. Coffin, *Id.* 533.

these sturdy pioneers of the wilderness and with other friendly travelers and writers of that time, give many illustrations of the high traits of manhood, intelligence, independence, and good qualities shown by them under circumstances of the severe hardships of their lives. They place them above the common people of Europe and to some extent foretell the character of the coming natives of the west.

All this was accessible to Eggleston and Baynard Rush Hall. It is not believed that it was intentionally suppressed by them, but it was not to their purpose nor within their viewpoint. Under the guise of fiction or fictitious surroundings, writers without restraint, or any seeming sense of responsibility for consequences, have taken unfair liberties with society, sometimes with an intent inconsistent with fairness and justice, with sarcasm and ridicule without proper and fair discrimination in favor of the best. We refer to moral responsibility. The doctrine of legal responsibility for libel protects individuals from attacks of this kind whether open or covert.

Very recently a leading western publishing house, which issued a novel, was surprised with a libel suit in New York, upon the charge that under a fictitious name the author had lampooned a New York judge against whom he had a grievance, and on a trial the jury gave the plaintiff a verdict of thirty-five thousand dollars damages against the publisher.

Such material has been misleading and has furnished the man of the east the opportunity of exercising the undue and offensive familiarity of the elder to the younger brother in the west. There should be yet those, while a few of the children of those pioneers live, who have spent their youth among them, and who were in sympathy with them during their lives, who shall describe them, in truth and justice and kindness, without the intrusion of descriptions of a lower and disgusting class of humanity, to unfairly detract from a truthful picture. An excellent foundation for this is found in a recent magazine article, entitled "The Pioneer Aristocracy."⁷² It is not fiction, it deals with facts. Very many

⁷² Dr. Logan Esary. *Indiana Magazine of History*, Sept. 1918.

of them, furnishing a truthful picture of the life of the Hoosier pioneer. It is a normal and sane-minded description of a society which deserves the fairest and best treatment.

It is of the greatest importance that among the young people of Indiana there should be fostered a State pride, already existing with many people, not inferior to that to be found in any American commonwealth. They should be taught the beautiful, the true and the good in its history of which there is so much, rather than so great over-emphasis of the husks that are to be found in the history of the pioneers of any of the States.

Roosevelt's chapters on the Backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies and on the Men of the Western Waters contain a wealth of historical facts and descriptions of the traits of the native pioneer. His appreciative sympathy with the frontiersman has enabled him to furnish this as no other man has done. This has been supplemented by the work of Dr. Frederick Turner, who has been concerned with the reactive influences of the central west upon the east, with the development of institutions, and the later history of events in which he has been the best interpreter of the life of the people of this section of the time of which we write.

There were also men, a few of whom have been mentioned, living on the north side of the river at that time capable of giving fair, friendly and discriminating sketches of the men and women with whom they lived and who knew the sources of population out of which that composite society was formed, and who have left such a record.

These, with other writers, with the testimony of people still living who personally knew many of the men and women who were pioneers in the period mentioned, furnish a key to a fair and impartial history of the life and character of the Hoosier aristocracy yet to be written.

NEIGHBORS OF LINCOLN

It is a coincidence that when Abraham Lincoln came to Indiana in the summer of 1816, a boy of seven years of age, he located in Perry county, then less than a mile from the line

of Warrick county, in which was then living Joseph Lane, who came from Kentucky in 1816.⁷³ Fourteen years later, Lincoln, then twenty-one years old, moved to Illinois. Still later, Joseph Lane moved to Oregon. In 1860, when the Lincoln and Hamlin Presidential ticket was elected, Joseph Lane was a candidate for Vice-President on the opposing ticket of Breckenridge and Lane.⁷⁴ It is generally assumed that Lincoln first came to Spencer county, a river county, which adjoins Warrick county on the east, but Spencer county was not created until the act of the legislature of January 10, 1818, was passed.⁷⁵ Warrick county, when created out of Knox county, March 9, 1813, extended from the Wabash river to Harrison county.⁷⁶ Nicolay and Hay⁷⁷ show an intimacy, with intermarriages, between the Boones and Lincolns of an early time, and that the grandfather of President Lincoln followed Daniel Boone to Kentucky. It is also true that the Lincolns, uncle and cousins of Abraham Lincoln, followed Squire Boone, brother of Daniel Boone, to Harrison county, Indiana,⁷⁸ and Thomas Lincoln, while following his brother to Indiana, settled within twenty miles of Ratliff Boone, of Boonville, Warrick county, who had lived in Indiana territory since 1809 and who represented Spencer county in congress, while the Lincolns lived there. Mr. J. Ed. Murr was reared near the Lincolns as neighbors in Harrison county.

⁷³ Fortune, *Warrick and its Prominent People*, 76.

⁷⁴ See note 43.

⁷⁵ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 277.

⁷⁶ *Id.*, 36.

⁷⁷ *Life of Lincoln*, V. I, p. 4.

⁷⁸ Squire Boone settled in Harrison county in 1802 and there Daniel Boone frequently visited and hunted, Wm. H. Roose, *Indiana's Birthplace—History of Harrison County*, p. 7. Ratliff Boone, congressman of the Lincolns, as well as of the people of the English settlement, when Abraham Lincoln was twenty and twenty-one years old and earlier, was a man of considerable education, but moved to Missouri late in the 30's and died there in the 40's. He was undoubtedly very familiar with his constituents, the Wheelers, Hillyards, Hornbrooks, Ingles, Maidlows and others, who had brought books from England, as well as the Lincolns and it is probable that Abraham Lincoln learned of the fact; whether he availed himself of the opportunity to read any of such books, history is silent. The Wheelers, Hillyards, Hornbrooks, Maidlows and Ingles were not living when the comparatively limited inquiries at a late date were made among Lincoln's acquaintances in Spencer county. A few of them, only, lived until Lincoln became President, and if any of the persons mentioned ever referred to his residence in southwestern Indiana so close to the settlement there is no one now living who heard and remembers it.

When Saunders Hornbrook, the original pioneer of the English settlement, located upon his choice in the wilderness in October or November, 1817, it was forty miles west of the farm of Thomas Lincoln, the location now occupied by Lincoln City in Spencer county.

In 1825, one of the pioneers elsewhere mentioned, in the eastern border of the settlement in Campbell township, Warrick county, about twenty miles west of where Lincoln lived, was a magistrate and later a lay judge and many years county commissioner in Warrick county.

Luke Grant, one of the settlement, built a mill at Millersburgh in 1825⁷⁹ still nearer the Lincoln farm, and it is not unlikely that Lincoln, who was born February 12, 1809, and was then between 16 and 17 years of age, had dealings with or knew some of these settlers. Certain it is that Lincoln acquired the habit of attending court at Boonville, then and now the county seat of Warrick county.⁸⁰

The leaders of the Saundersville and Blue Grass locations (the latter about thirty miles west of Lincoln City), from the period of 1818 to 1830, when Lincoln, twenty-one years old, left Indiana, had a number of volumes of the classics of English poetry and prose, and enjoyed the music and culture of old English life. There are still living descendants of the English, old people, who learned their childhood speech from men and women born in England, more than one hundred years ago, from those who spoke the language of England in its purity, and who preserved in the wilderness its literature, music, culture and religion, and delivered them to their children and children's children. These old people, even yet in their childhood memories, treasure the nursery rhymes, humor and family traditions of England, the plaintive poetry of Tom Moore, Thomas Campbell and others, commemorating the martyrs of the Irish Rebellion and deploring the loss of Irish liberty, set to a sad music, as well as the martial strains of Scott and Burns.⁸¹ These conditions mentioned in

⁷⁹ Fortune, *Warrick County Prominent People*, 36.

⁸⁰ J. Ed. Murr, *History of Lincoln, Indiana Magazine of History*, June 1818—150-154-159-160; Lamon's *Life of Lincoln*, 67.

⁸¹ *King Alcohol Dethroned*, by Rev. F. C. Iglehart, D. D., 71. This author, who refers to these memories, is a representative of three of the pioneer families

the British settlement were probably nearer to the Lincoln location than any similar opportunity in the wilderness. Lincoln's nature craved books. He traveled on foot long distances to get them. He was a frequent visitor of the Breckenridge home near Boonville to read and borrow law books.⁸²

The *Evansville Weekly Gazette* was published at Evansville from 1821 to 1825, inclusive, and it published legal and other court notices for Spencer, Warrick and all adjoining counties. It was the only newspaper in the section outside of Vincennes and New Harmony, and contained much news of public interest and matters local in the congressional district, which included Spencer county, where Lincoln lived at the age of 16 and over. Its election returns were gathered and published with noteworthy enterprise and embraced outside counties.

There were published in 1820 to 1830 weekly newspapers in Evansville,⁸³ New Harmony,⁸⁴ Vincennes,⁸⁵ and Corydon⁸⁶, the files of which are now accessible, perhaps for other periods, though complete files are not preserved. During all that period Spencer county was in the same congressional district with Evansville, Princeton and New Harmony, much of the time represented in congress by Ratliff Boone, who

in the first British settlement in Indiana, and was born in the eastern edge of it in 1845. His mother was born in Somersham, the town where Faux lived, and as a child five years old, came with her widowed mother to her uncle John Ingle of Saundersville. His father was born in Kentucky. Both his father's parents were Tidewater Marylanders. He was one of the native Hoosier ministers, not mentioned among the names elsewhere referred to as of an earlier period. But the same influences which created the first effective native ministry in southwestern Indiana under Parrett and Wheeler, undoubtedly reached him in his home life. He knew and heard preach both Parrett and Wheeler in their later life. He was chosen as a platform orator and temperance debater, from among the New York ministers, after a dramatic and successful answer to Mr. Jerome, attorney for the brewers and liquor dealers in a hearing before the Temperance Committee of the New York legislature in a large hall in Albany and for over ten years acted as superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of greater New York. Few, if any, have performed greater service in that cause. At the close of a long and successful career as minister, lecturer, writer and temperance leader, he published, under a prophetic title, at the opportune moment, the book referred to, which is authority upon the facts in the history of the liquor traffic.

⁸² Murr's *Lincoln, Ind. Mag. Hist.*, June, 1918, p. 159.

⁸³ *Evansville Gazette* 1821 to 1825 inclusive.

⁸⁴ *New Harmony Gazette* 1825 to 1828; *N. H. Disseminator* 1828-1829; *N. H. and Nashoba Gazette* 1828-1831.

⁸⁵ *Western Sun & General Advertiser* 1819 to 1830 and later.

⁸⁶ *Indiana Sentinel and Advertiser* 1820-1821.

lived only about twenty miles from Lincoln. Boone was Lincoln's congressman the last two years the latter lived in Indiana as well as formerly. There was a direct public road from Princeton to New Harmony, one from Evansville to Boonville and from Evansville through Saundersville to Princeton and Vincennes, also to New Harmony, and one from Boonville through Saundersville to New Harmony. The latter town, as its newspapers show, was the center of literary culture of respectable character compared with the best culture of that age, anywhere. Very early a road ran from Corydon to Evansville, passing by Lincoln's farm through what is now known as Gentryville.⁸⁷

Easy and frequent communication by river existed from all the points named (except Princeton and Corydon) to and from Troy, Rockport and Anderson creek, where the Lincolns are frequently found during this period. A stage line running on schedule time between Evansville, Princeton and Vincennes, making one trip a week, was established and first put in operation in the summer of 1824.⁸⁸ This continued till a railroad was put in operation nearly thirty years later.

Abraham Lincoln, once a year or oftener, went to Princeton to Col. James Evans for carding of wool. Evans' brother, Gen. Robert M. Evans, was for several years a tavern keeper and assistant postmaster at New Harmony in the year 1827 and later.⁸⁹ General Evans was an interesting character and figured much in the newspapers in Evansville, New Harmony and Vincennes, and it is altogether probable that his brother, the wool carder at Princeton, had the newspapers of the day, for so eager an inquirer for "news" and a customer as Lincoln is shown during that period to have been.⁹⁰ Evans was enterprising enough to advertise his wool carding machine in the *Evansville Gazette*,⁹¹ which, no doubt, circulated in the Lincoln neighborhood.

Corydon, from 1816 to 1825, the capital of the State, about

⁸⁷ Lamon's *Lincoln*, 24.

⁸⁸ *Evansville Gazette*, July 14, 1824. Full details of this interesting event are advertised.

⁸⁹ *New Harmony Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1827.

⁹⁰ Murr's "History of Lincoln," *Indiana Magazine of History*.

⁹¹ *Evansville Gazette*, June 20, 1823.

fifty-five miles distant from the Lincoln farm, was near the center of the large family of Lincoln uncles and cousins.⁹² The few details preserved of Lincoln's early life, up to manhood, and his character as the world later knew him, show him to have been too aggressive and earnest in search for knowledge of the outside world to have been ignorant of all of these sources of information, which for that age were fairly easy of access to him, without doubt. Many of the interesting facts of his life in Indiana have been wholly lost to history. That no record is preserved of his knowledge obtained from any of these sources may be accounted for in the death of the people of that time, capable of appreciating its importance, before Lincoln became famous, or that the facts involved may have escaped inquiry later, or that many of the illiterate of his neighbors may not have known or remembered such facts.

It is easier to believe this than that Abraham Lincoln remained ignorant of all these avenues of information till after he was 21 years old. Miss Robey, to whom Lincoln paid special attention as a young woman, who later married Allen Gentry, said of Lincoln: "He was better read than the world knows or is likely to know exactly."⁹³ At 19, Lincoln read every book he could find.⁹⁴ Tarbell gives the usual short list of books which the scant information of his life in Indiana furnishes, and says: "These are the chief ones we know about.* * * beside these he borrowed many other books.* * * He once told a friend that he read through every book he had ever heard of in that country, for a circuit of fifty miles."⁹⁵ John T. Richards, president of the Chicago Bar Association, reviews the scant evidence on this subject from a lawyer's standpoint, and says that it is unfortunate that beyond a general statement that while a youth in Indiana, Lincoln read the *Bible*, *Shakespeare*, *Pilgrim's Progress* and Weems' *Life of Washington* and such other books as he could borrow, there is no evidence available as to the

⁹² Murr's "History of Lincoln," *Ind. Mag. of History*, Dec. 1917, p. 307.

⁹³ Ward H. Lamon, *Life of Lincoln* 70, Herndon, Vol. I, 39.

⁹⁴ Nicolay & Hay, V. I, p. 42.

⁹⁵ *Life of Lincoln*, V. I, p. 29.

books which aided in the development of his mind up to the time when he removed to Illinois; and in referring to Lincoln as an educated man, says that his early speeches and writings show a marked familiarity with history and knowledge of the English language.⁹⁶ Arnold says Lincoln read Burns' poems and other books till he was familiar with them.⁹⁷ One of the children of the first generation born in the English settlement speaks of Burns' *Poems* as among his childhood memories, heirlooms from English homelife, "the voice of Burns across the sea."⁹⁸

THE SPIRIT OF THE OHIO VALLEY

Our national history has for the most part been written by New England men, but from a sectional viewpoint, which over-estimated Puritan influence in the development of national character.⁹⁹ When we sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee" the country that is visualized is very small. The author of the hymn was a New England clergyman and naturally enough described New England and called it America. It is a land of rocks and rills and woods, and the hills are templed in Puritan fashion by white meeting houses; for the early New Englander, like erring Israel of old, loved to worship on the high places. Over it all is one great tradition: "It is the land of the Pilgrim's pride."¹⁰⁰

The American spirit—the traits that have come to be recognized as the most characteristic—was developed in the new commonwealths that sprang into life beyond the seaboard.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ *Abraham Lincoln, Lawyer and Statesman*, P. 1-3.

⁹⁷ *Life of Lincoln* 21.

⁹⁸ See note 81. An editorial obituary notice of the *Evansville Courier* July 28, 1882, of the death of Mrs. Ann Cowle Iglehart, wife of Asa Iglehart, granddaughter of John Ingle of Somersham, says: "The family of which Mrs. Iglehart came were not lacking in literary taste, and in that early day, when a book was unknown to most of the homes of that neighborhood, the family of Mark Wheeler, her stepfather, was supplied with a library. The children of the family, contrary to the other families of that time, spent their long winter evenings reading standard English works."

⁹⁹ Woodrow Wilson, *The course of American History* (mere literature), 218.

¹⁰⁰ Samuel McChord Crothers, *The Pardoners Wallet—The land of the large and charitable air*, 148. This brilliant writer has actually found a true American instinct in old Mirandy Means, who, he says, "formulated the wisdom of the pioneer" who pre-empted more land than he could cultivate, *Id.* 171.

¹⁰¹ Frederick Turner, *Rise of the New West* (1820-1830), 68.

The Atlantic frontier had to work upon European germs. Moving westward each new frontier was more and more American at the start; and soon the older communities were reacted upon wholesomely by the simplicity and democracy of the west. These considerations give the key to the meaning of the west in American history.¹⁰² Says Frederick G.

¹⁰² William Mason West, *History of the American People*, 270.

Turner:

American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, this continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. * * * The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization.

The west at bottom is a form of society rather than area. The problem of the west is nothing less than the problem of American development. Today the old Northwest is the key-stone to the American commonwealth.¹⁰³

Mr. West states that Dr. Turner is the first true interpreter of the frontier in our history.¹⁰⁴ This author (Turner), with the advantage of the most complete collection of materials upon the west which has ever been brought together—The Library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society¹⁰⁵, has in his recent writings given to the people of the States of the central west, embracing the location and period we are here considering, their ancestry, emigration and the establishment by them of the true non-sectional American Democracy, a dignity and importance never recognized before.¹⁰⁶

Mr. Murr's History, in the fullest detail, discusses the frontier life of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana, from the age of 7 to 21, from 1816 to 1830, during which period he lived in

¹⁰³ Turner, *Atlantic Monthly*, V. 78, p. 289, V. 79, p. 433.

¹⁰⁴ West, *History of the American People*, 270—note.

¹⁰⁵ Albert Bushnell Hart, Editorial Preface to Turner's *Rise of the New West*.

¹⁰⁶ Frederick G. Turner. "The Significance of the Frontier," in *American History Report* 1893, American Historical Association 199. "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 91, p. 83. "The Middle West," *International Monthly*, IV, 794. "Problem of the West," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 78, p. 289. "Dominant Forces in Western Life," *Atlantic* 79, 438. *Rise of the New West* (The American Nation History), edited A. B. Hart.

Indiana, and justly claims that his character was moulded and developed by his Hoosier surroundings. He claims that the boy was father to the man. In an address to an Indiana regiment of Civil war soldiers, President Lincoln said: "I was born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana, and now live in Illinois."

Edward Eggleston, in his biography elsewhere mentioned, gives the greatest importance to the "formative influences" of his youth while living in Southern Indiana, on his career as an author, in which he says he was only drawing on the resources which the very peculiar circumstances of his life had put at his disposal. He adds: "Is it Herder who says, my whole life is but the interpretation of the oracles of my childhood?"¹⁰⁷

The Lincoln type, in figure, movement, features, facial make-up, simplicity of speech and thought, gravity of countenance, and integrity and truthfulness of life, as it stands accredited by the vast number of writers on Lincoln, is in a substantial degree a Hoosier type in southern Indiana today. It may be still found in the judge on the bench, the lawyer at the bar, the preacher in the pulpit, and others descended from pioneer stock who are forceful and intelligent leaders of the common people.¹⁰⁸ It should be remembered that previous to 1830 the population of the farmer pioneers of southern Indiana who did not come from Kentucky and the south, were the exceptions. Turner correctly says that it is the southern element today which differentiates Indiana from Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, her sister states of the old Northwest. The central west, like the southwest, took its early impress from the central Atlantic coast States of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Until the invention of the cotton gin, when cotton plantations made slave

¹⁰⁷ *Forum*, X, 290.

¹⁰⁸ An old Civil war soldier living in Illinois knew Lincoln as a surveyor in Illinois and heard the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport. After hearing Rev. J. E. Murr deliver an address on Lincoln, he came to him and said: "I hope you won't mind my saying that you, of all men I ever met, remind me most of Lincoln at 35 to 40. Your stature is not as great but your face, manner and speech and the little ways you have carry me back to Lincoln." Mr. Murr was born in Corydon, of Kentucky parentage, and is now pastor of Bayard Park M. E. Church, a prominent church in Evansville.

labor very profitable, the west, lying north of the Ohio river, and southwest were much alike,¹⁰⁹ and the resemblance and sympathy between the people of those sections are strong today.

It was only after the institution of slavery settled firmly and generally upon the south that the people of the country north of the Ohio river became distinctly separate. Lincoln came to Indiana in 1816, the year of its admission as a State, with a provision in its constitution against slavery. No one can doubt the influence upon Lincoln, the child and young man, in his life upon the free soil of Indiana. Eggleston gives strong testimony on this point in his biographical sketch¹¹⁰ when he describes slavery in its mildest form among his father people's people in Virginia, and after a year's residence there at the age of 16, on his return to Indiana, he later says:

From the time of my visit to Virginia I counted myself an Abolitionist.

The influence and necessities of slavery in the south required control of the press and in a degree the freedom of speech. Brander Mathews has shown, upon no less authority than Thomas Nelson Page and Prof. William P. Trent, in his biography of William Gilmore Sims, that this restraint was one of the chief causes which prevented the growth of a southern literature before the Civil war.¹¹¹ Free land and free institutions were the hope of the poor as well as more thrifty white people, which brought them across the Ohio river. After Kentucky had become well settled, land was more expensive and slavery had become a permanent institution.

It was destined that the Apostle of Freedom was to come of this class, and to be removed from the heavy weight with which slavery bore upon the poor whites. Out of the spirit of American democracy came the ideal now to direct the des-

¹⁰⁹ Albert Bushnell Hart, Editorial introduction to Turner's *Rise of the New West*, XIV, *Id.* p. 75-92, 45; F. G. Turner, "Dominant Forces in Western Life," *Atlantic*, 79, 438; "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Am. Hist. Assn. R.* 1893, p. 220; Roosevelt, *Winning the West*, Ch. Men of the Western Waters.

¹¹⁰ *Forum*, X, 288.

¹¹¹ Brander Mathews, *Aspects of Fiction—Two Studies of the South*.

tinies of the new British settlers and their Hoosier neighbors, one of whom was Abraham Lincoln. The general British emigration, of which the Illinois and Indiana colonies were part, began when Indiana became a State in 1816 with a constitution prohibiting slavery. It was no accident that in that year Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln, with the boy Abraham, came from a slave State to the free soil and free institutions of Indiana and settled in the wilderness of southwestern Indiana. The ideals operating on Lincoln in his youth while he was a southern Indiana Hoosier at the time in the location we are considering, as compared with those then existing in slave territory, are thus stated by Turner:¹¹²

The natural democratic tendencies that had earlier shown themselves in the Gulf States were destroyed, however, by the spread of cotton culture and the development of great plantations in that region. What had been typical of the democracy of the Revolutionary frontier and of the frontier of Andrew Jackson was now to be seen in the States between the Ohio and the Mississippi. As Andrew Jackson is the typical democrat of the former region, so Abraham Lincoln is the very embodiment of the pioneer period of the old northwest. Indeed, he is the embodiment of the democracy of the west.

The pioneer life from which Lincoln came differed in important respects from the frontier democracy typified by Andrew Jackson. Jackson's democracy was contentious, individualistic, and it sought the ideal of local self-government and expansion. Lincoln represents rather the pioneer folk who entered the forest of the great northwest to chop out a home, to build up their fortunes in the midst of a continually ascending industrial movement. In the democracy of the southwest, industrial development and city life were only minor factors, but to the democracy of the northwest they were its very life. To widen the area of the clearing, to contend with one another for the mastery of the industrial resources of

¹¹² "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly*, XCI, 89.

Descriptions of life in southern Indiana by many of the biographers of Lincoln, including Tarbell, I, p. 47, Nicolay & Hay, I, Ch. 2, are given as the background to the picture of a great character, of world-wide interest, and are too comprehensive and open too wide a field for the present inquiry; however, a field well worthy of study in connection with an inquiry into the character of the early farmer pioneers in the wilderness. John Hay was born at Salem, Ind., Oct. 8, 1838, less than a year after the birth of Edward Eggleston at Vevay, Dec. 10, 1837, not over 60 miles distant. None of these writers have interpreted the meaning of life in the old Northwest with the vision of Dr. Turner, whose works deal with the period during which Lincoln lived in southwestern Indiana, from 1816 to 1830, which covers the time as well as the territory embraced in the present inquiry.

the rich provinces, to struggle for a place in the ascending movement of society, to transmit to one's offspring the chance for education, for industrial betterment, for the rise in life which the hardships of the pioneer existence denied to the pioneer himself, these were some of the ideals of the region to which Lincoln came. The men were commonwealth builders, industry builders. Whereas the type of hero in the southwest was militant, in the northwest he was industrial. It was in the midst of these "plain people," as he loved to call them, that Lincoln grew to manhood. As Emerson says: "He is the true history of the American people in his time." The years of his early life were the years when the democracy of the northwest came into struggle with the institution of slavery that threatened to forbid the expansion of the democratic pioneer life in the west.

The ideal of the west was its emphasis upon the worth and possibilities of the common man, of its belief in the right of every man to rise to the full measure of his own nature, under conditions of social mobility. Western democracy was no theorist's dream. It came stark and strong and full of life from the American forest.¹¹³ The westerner has been the type and master of our national life.¹¹⁴ The comparatively recent publication and reprint with notes by Dr. Thwaites of the writings of early western travelers in thirty-odd volumes are treated by Dr. Turner in a review¹¹⁵ as a sign of the interest that is aroused in western history, and an indication that the region this side of the Allegheny mountains has reached the stage that comes to every people, when in the pride of achievement it turns to survey the records of its past.

The Hoosier has come into his own. He demands a fair interpretation of those records, and is proud of them. He has no patience with apologists at home, who have been misled by unfair interpretation, nor with the condescending criticisms of certain people of other States. No intelligent and fair-minded person will judge the character of a whole people in pioneer Indiana at the beginning of the State by the careless or malicious sketches of the lowest class of people correctly described by Dr. Turner as "the scum that the waves of advancing civilization bore before them."¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Frederick G. Turner, *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829*, 86.

¹¹⁴ Woodrow Wilson, *The Course of American History (mere literature)*, 218.

¹¹⁵ *The Dial*, XXXVII, 298.

¹¹⁶ "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *American History Association R.*, 1893, 223 note.

PIONEER LIFE

The severity of pioneer life, with its hard labor, the isolation of families, want of good roads in winter, the limited opportunity for gathering together of people at public entertainments and Sunday religious services, made social life and entertainment at a very early day, especially for women and children, very limited. In this respect the life of the settlers of the English settlement was much in common with the life of the native pioneers with whom they mingled. Visiting was common among young people and relatives. For a young man to call upon a young lady meant often for him to ride horseback five or ten miles, even farther. Saturday afternoons were generally recognized as a time for recreation. At the neighborhood store of evenings and particularly Saturday afternoons, the men, young and old, gathered in groups for sociability and to barter; money was scarce and most of the trade, and purchases as well, were exchanges of goods at market prices.

At these gatherings stories were told and jokes perpetrated. Rifle practice, testing the best skill of the hunter, was a popular entertainment. When men or boys went to the store or visiting, they usually carried a gun, on the probability of seeing a deer or other game or wild animal.

At corn shuckings and log rollings a general good time, with feasting, dancing and drinking, followed. If a neighbor was sick and unable to cut his firewood, or a widow had no one to do that work for her, neighbors would gather with their axes and cut a good pile of wood and carry or haul it to the house. Such an occasion was generally followed by a general social entertainment. The drinking habit, while abused here as elsewhere by persons who indulged to excess, was a very common one, and public opinion was tolerant of it. Faux expresses throughout his book the highest Christian sentiment, no doubt sincerely. He is merciless in his criticisms generally, and especially of the poor lodging accommodations for travelers at taverns and in private houses. He occasionally mentions in mitigation of the many faults that good whiskey or brandy was produced. Mr. Hornbrook

records the well-known fact that when on occasions the preacher arrived at the house to conduct religious services there, and was tired and needed a stimulant, he did not hesitate to set out the decanter of brandy, which was welcome. As a rule, people drank in moderation. The Erskines tried to raise a log cabin without free whiskey, but most reluctantly were compelled to yield the point. Whiskey was five cents a glass, and a glass full at the store was often divided up among a number of persons. Fifteen or twenty cents would buy a small jug full. Excitable or quarrelsome persons under the influence of whiskey sometimes engaged in brawls.

If a fight reached the danger point in the matter of public peace or example or safety, the grand jury frequently indicted one or both of the parties, who had to plead guilty or stand a jury trial in the circuit court. The record of these court trials, as well as of civil suits, where the names of the principals involved, as well as the names of by-standers and witnesses, are endorsed upon the indictment or found in the summons and subpoenas, has been one of the aids in refreshing the memories of the oldest inhabitants, particularly Edward Maidlow and James Erskine, who have assisted in restoring the faded pictures of these early times.

Negley's mill was a rendezvous for people of all classes from different neighborhoods, who came to mill. There stood a substantial frame steam saw mill and steam flour, corn and grist mill. Nearby the family lived, in a substantial and commodious farm house. The Negley mill, which had been established and owned by James Anthony (not Jonathan Anthony, as the historians record), was the best equipped mill of its kind in southwestern Indiana for many years, and changed hands when Negley bought it, about 1819, at a very considerable price. At the earliest date animal power, alone, in a log house, was used, and the mill supplied the country for many miles around. In a local history is given an interesting description of the old days at Negley's mill and the social life and entertainments there, which continued down for a generation. A trip to the mill was often an excuse for young people of both sexes to go to the business and social

center. The list of patrons from the records of the owners of the mill includes many names from the English settlement.¹¹⁷

In 1825 Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., wrote to a friend in England that they were compelled to manufacture their clothing, because of the scarcity of specie, the women sometimes carding the cotton and wool, then spinning, weaving and fashioning the cloth into garments. Little time was left for sociability, with the labors which the women had then to perform, and this was substantially the condition in all the families of the settlement.

In the *Evansville Gazette* of June 29, 1825, are two notices of local interest, showing the patriotic spirit of the people. One is a publication of a notice signed by a committee on arrangements, in Evansville, informing the public of a procession from the house of Daniel Chute on the Fourth of July, to march to the courthouse and hear the address of Dr. William P. Foster; after which the procession was to return to Mr. Chute's house, where a dinner was to be "prepared for those who were disposed to partake of it." Immediately following this notice, of the same date, is the following:

PUBLIC DINNER

A Public Dinner will be provided at the House of Samuel Scott in the English Settlement to celebrate with becoming spirit the glorious independence of America. We give this public notice as many of our neighbors complained last year they had not an opportunity of attending, for want of timely information. It will be conducted on the same principles as that of last year. Subscriptions will be received at Samuel Scott's. The dinner will be on the table at one o'clock.

R. Carlisle,
S. Scott,
J. Ingle,
C Potts,
J. Cawson,
S. Mansell.¹¹⁸

This scrap shows that the "English Settlement" was well known to the readers of the paper; that it aspired equally

¹¹⁷ Elliott, *History of Vanderburgh County*, 93, 96.

¹¹⁸ *Evansville Gazette*, June 18, 1825. Local news was so rare that the editor in such matters usually used his editorial column.

with the village of Evansville to recognize the Fourth of July with "becoming spirit"; and that Samuel Scott and Richard Carlisle, prominent men, who were on the ground before Hornbrook, the "Father of the Settlement," came, and who came from England by way of Virginia, were recognized as leaders in the settlement.

In 1822 Hornbrook, for social and mutual benefits, called the men of the neighborhood together to meet at his house every Saturday afternoon, when they had one or two papers on the subject of agriculture or any other topic of general interest, which were followed by discussion. He writes that "it was the intention to hold more general meetings the next year, for the county, to a greater extent." Of course, there was no benefit or sociability for the women in these meetings, but there had "come into the settlement a number of good respectable English families within three miles, which to some extent supplied that need."

Hornbrook had been a manufacturer and contractor and business man of considerable experience in the old country and as long as he lived, engaged in business and matters of general interest in trade and manufacture in the settlement.

Describing the situation of his family, which was much similar to those of John Ingle, and the Maidlows, near neighbors, as well as of the Wheelers, Joseph and Mark, the Erskines, Hillyards and others, six miles or farther distant eastwardly, Hornbrook, in 1822, writes:

For the first few years in our new home my family being large (ten children), we did not feel the loneliness which smaller families experienced in this new country, where one could not see farther than a quarter of a mile, because of the dense woods in all directions. In a short time the older ones married and settled near us, building their cabins and clearing the land and extending our social needs.

He writes his old English friends:

Our society here cannot be so select as with you, but we have as much sincerity and friendship, but there is no time for visiting or idle chit-chat. Probably after a few years we may have some leisure, though there are no servants to relieve the women of labor, so no time for five o'clock tea with the ladies, as in Old England, but we have no taxes—no tithes—no excise laws—and perfect freedom of thought and worship.

The better element in the English settlement depended much on each other for their social life and for aid in sickness and need, though scattered throughout the country and in the new town of Evansville were a number of well-to-do people among the better class of natives from Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, and other Atlantic coast States. Ten or twenty miles, even, did not prevent intimacy between congenial neighbors.

The Ingles, Maidlows, Hornbrooks, Wheelers, Erskines, Hillyards, McJohnsons, and others were the center of the circle of the settlement, and were the nucleus of a social community, drawing to it others more remote, representing in the generation then young, large families of men and women who spoke the English language in its purity and preserved the best traditions of the social, intellectual and moral life of England.

Faux says at the beginning there were no schools in the settlement, and recommends to the English teachers a good opportunity at a good salary for that time. The first advertisement in the *Evansville Gazette* of a teacher for pupils was by Andrew Erskine,¹¹⁹ in which he stated his terms and the character of his school. He was an educated man, and a leading citizen in the county. A description of educational opportunities in the twenties and the resorts of ambitious people to overcome obstacles in that direction is later furnished by a member of one of the pioneer families, then a youth:¹²⁰

In that new country, where there were no books, and newspapers were very rare, opportunities for education were very poor indeed; but father and mother, especially the latter, were anxious for the promotion and education of their children. Stimulated by her precept, we all early acquired a taste for books. We subscribed for weekly papers very early, and supplied ourselves with what few school books could be obtained, and went to school, a few months each winter in the improvised rude cabins, which were called school-houses in those rude days. But, in fact, our education was obtained more at home, from the scanty supply of books we had, and from our application, and by stimulating each other. One of the sources of

¹¹⁹ *Evansville Gazette*, March 11, 1823.

¹²⁰ *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.), 355.

education and stimulation was the early Methodist preachers, who found their way as well to the wild woods of Warrick county, as everywhere in this country which has been reached by civilization. They were generally better educated than most of the people in the country then were, and they stimulated us to seek for better educational opportunities; and though none of us ever went to college we obtained all the education which was attainable in those early days without going to college.

Gradually schools were established, but the terms were short; sometimes, not always, competent teachers were found; among the leaders of the English settlement, in the families of which were some older children who had received some education in England, and where the parents were educated people, there was a good supply of English books and especial care was taken to furnish the best substitute in the home for schools before they became effective elsewhere.

As there had been no church built in this settlement, various leading settlers, including Hornbrook, Ingle, Erskine, the Hillyards, and others, would invite a minister whom any of them could get, to come to his house to hold services on Sunday. If he could not get anyone to come, as they were, other than the Wheelers, Joseph and Richard, and Parrett, few and far between, he would himself read a sermon from some English book of sermons, and the reading was followed by prayer and song service. There were at that early period eight or ten Unitarian families in the neighborhood, who were sometimes called Schismatics or Christians.

True to frontier life west of the mountains as it existed at the time of which we write, especially religious influences and development in this section, is the account of Peter Cartwright,¹²¹ a Methodist preacher of national reputation, in later life. He was a striking character. He was without education, but gifted with natural power of oratory, of undoubted sincerity and piety, with qualities of leadership, including the element of fearless courage, which a leader of the time required. Humorous incidents are told of his policing his public religious meetings in Kentucky to prevent rowdies from breaking them up. He had personally, as a member of

¹²¹ *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright.*

the Green River district of the Tennessee conference, established the St. Vincennes circuit in 1808.¹²² This circuit included southwestern Indiana.

Rev. John Schrader, the circuit rider, as early as 1815¹²³ traveled that circuit, embracing the entire Patoka river valley south of the present line of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and extending from the Wabash river eastwardly to and perhaps including Harrison county.

Rev. Joseph Wheeler and Robert Parrett knew Cartwright well. In their training and education in England they were free from the narrow limitations which the spirit of the age in the frontier west then imposed upon the natives, and upon many of the leaders born and reared among them. It seems now almost like fiction to read the serious lament of Peter Cartwright,¹²⁴ when in his old age, a unique and celebrated character, with a long and successful career behind him, he criticises an educated ministry, literary institutions and theological institutes. He says:

The Presbyterians and other Calvinistic branches of the Protestant church used to contend for an educated ministry, for pews, for instrumental music, for a congregational or stated salaried ministry; the illiterate Methodist preachers actually set the world on fire (the American world at least), while they were lighting their matches.

He condemns the Wesleyans in England for the same reasons, insisting that such practices were a departure from the teachings of John Wesley.

Parrett and the Wheelers, who were Wesleyans in England, had none of this spirit. Neither had the leaders of the settlement any of the narrow or bigoted or rowdy spirit which to some extent prevailed in various quarters among the natives of this section.

For half a century in southern Indiana many of the pioneer preachers struggled in a tragic and losing fight against the spirit of the age, which has at last succeeded in that denomination, in its demand for an educated ministry.¹²⁵

¹²² *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (1856), 131, 141-167.

¹²³ *History of Warrick County* (1885), p. 124.

¹²⁴ *Biography of Peter Cartwright*, p. 79.

¹²⁵ For an illustration of that fight, upon the entrance into the Indiana Conference of the M. E. Church, of the first graduate of the first Methodist college of

A thrilling flight of natural oratory was heard by the writer in an address by Hayden Hays, an old, white-haired, superannuated preacher on the floor of the Indiana conference nearly fifty years ago, discussing the transfers of ministers from other conferences into the best pulpits of the conference, thus to some extent shutting out of those pulpits the old leaders who had heroically spent their lives in building up the civilization of the State.

It was by the Rev. John Schrader, the circuit rider, that the first regular, organized religious public services, of which local history has any record, were held, in what is now known as Vanderburgh county, in Hugh McGary's double log warehouse. By him, in 1819, arrangement was made at that meeting with the Wheelers and Parrett, Methodist ministers, who resided in the settlement, to preach regularly, in his absence, in Evansville.¹²⁶

John Ingle, of Saundersville, though not a minister, like Hornbrook, led services in his own house, and Faux records his reading a sermon and leading in prayer at service on Sunday, attended by sixteen people.¹²⁷ Also the Wheelers, Erskines, Hillyards, Igleharts, and others did the same. The following extract is taken from the minutes of the church board of Hillyard Methodist Episcopal church:

In the early part of the nineteenth century, when the surrounding country was being opened up and settled by pioneer settlers from the mother country and the east, came the desire to have some place to worship God, according to their religious belief. So it was agreed by these early pioneers to hold their meetings at the home of old Father Charles McJohnson, whenever a preacher might be passing through the country. The first who preached there was Joseph Tarkington,¹²⁸ who used the text, "They shall go in and out and find pasture." These meetings were held here occasionally until the spring of 1824.

With the spring of 1824 came the organization of the so-called Blue Grass society at the home of Mark Wheeler, who was for a time class

the State, see introduction to the *Autobiography of Rev. Joseph Tarkington* by Rev. Thomas A. Goodwin, D. D. While in form an introduction, it is in substance an autobiography of Dr. Goodwin, supplementing that of Mr. Tarkington, with most interesting and amusing descriptions of pioneer times and people in southern Indiana.

¹²⁶ *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.), 278.

¹²⁷ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 239, 285.

¹²⁸ See note 60.

leader and at whose home the meetings of the class and preaching services were held. At this time the territory was in the Illinois conference, Wabash district, Patoka circuit. This circuit had thirty-two appointments and was served by two preachers living at Princeton. Each made a round every four weeks. The class meetings in those days were held invariably after preaching services.

In 1827, three years after the organization, the meeting place of the society was transferred to the home of William Hillyard, Sr., and continued at this place until the year 1834, when the society built a hewed log house 20 x 24 feet and covered it with clapboards. The first seats were round poles, after a time these were replaced with improved seats made by splitting small logs in the center, shaving off the splinters with a drawing knife, boring holes in the bark side, inserting sharpened pieces of timbers into these holes. These seats were known as benches. This church had five windows, two on each side, and one behind the pulpit. This building stood on a rise of ground near the cemetery. The society continued to worship in this rude structure until 1851, when the second house, which is still used, was built on ground one-half mile south of the cemetery.

The first class leader was Mark Wheeler. There were eighteen persons belonging to this class. Other class leaders, who had done estimable service, were Joseph Harrison, Alexander Hillyard, Sr., William Crisp, Henry Harrison and Thomas Hillyard.

From the best information that can be gained, the first Sunday School was organized in 1838 in the old log church. There were twenty members belonging to this school. Alexander Hillyard, Sr., was the first superintendent. The Sunday School in those days memorized a great amount of Scripture.

The McJohnson Methodist Episcopal chapel was located at McCutchanville, about three miles south of Hillyard church, at an early date, and these two churches have for many years sustained a stationed minister in a church parsonage located at McCutchanville. A Methodist church was erected near Saundersville at a point where the church cemetery now known as the Ingle cemetery is located, but the church building was later removed.

The Episcopalians had a church in the settlement, and as late as 1850 one was known as Faux's chapel. Whether named in honor of William Faux, the early historian of the settlement, or one of his descendants, history does not state. It has disappeared.

There were among the various settlers representatives of many religious denominations. The Established church of England had a good representation. Whatever the former

religious affiliations of the settlers had been in the old country, Wesleyanism, through the Hillyards, McJohnsons, Wheelers, Parretts, Erskines, and other members of the settlement, as well as the circuit rider, who passed through the settlement at stated periods, firmly established Methodism in the beginning of Vanderburgh county's existence. For years that church very largely pre-empted the soil and the people with it, in the north half of the county. The burial ground at McCutchanville church, one at Hillyard church, one near Saundersville, now known as the Ingle cemetery, the Episcopal cemetery, and the Camp Ground cemetery, established later than the others, ranked in the above order, first of the earliest cemeteries in the county in the number of graves of the pioneers of the first decade of the settlement of the county.

Among the incidents preserved which show the close touch of some of the immigrants with John Wesley during his ministry in England and Ireland are the following: Elizabeth Wheeler (1781-1870), wife of Rev. Joseph Wheeler, was born at Witney, Oxfordshire, England, daughter of John and Elizabeth Early, of Witney. John Wesley was a regular visitor at her mother's home in Witney. When but a small child, she sat on Mr. Wesley's knee and recited one of the longest psalms. Elizabeth Hillyard (1760-1845), widow of John Hillyard, of Longford, Ireland, was left by her husband at his death a retail store in Longford, which she continued for some years. When the youngest of her four sons, James, William, John and Alexander, was about grown, she came in 1818 with them to America and this was the original Hillyard family of the Blue Grass neighborhood. Her husband, John Hillyard, was one of the first Wesleyan class leaders in Longford. Both she and her husband knew John Wesley. On one occasion as a girl she wore to church a bow of bright ribbon on her bonnet, and Mr. Wesley remarked, "It is a bow upon Bessie?" This was understood by all to be a reproof to the young lady for undue gaiety in dress.

Reference is elsewhere made to Rev. Joseph Wheeler and Rev. Robert Parrett, two men cast in the same mold, whose influence for good in the new settlement and for a much wider territory, was very great. Their influence upon the young

men of the settlement was very marked. To their influence, especially the former, in a great degree may be traced the education of a number of young men in the families mentioned, to the ministry. Among these native ministers were James and William Ingle, sons, and John Cowle, nephew, of John Ingle, of Saundersville, and William and Henry Wheeler, sons of Mark Wheeler; James, son of John Hillyard, and Thomas Walker and John Harrison. John W. Parrett, eldest son of Rev. Robert Parrett, was an active minister. All of these were Methodists except Thomas Walker, who was resident pastor of the Cumberland Presbyterian church at Owensville, Indiana, for a generation. So that before these older ministers had passed their vigor, there arose among these families a native ministry, the earliest in that section. Some of them remained in the settlement, rendering good service to the community in furnishing public service at a time when it was much needed. Some of them dedicated their lives wholly to the ministry and passed out into the wider world. None of them are now living.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

One of the criticisms made against emigration to this immediate section was that the country was wet, undrained, malarial and subject to fevers. The picture by Faux of Evansville, at the time he visited it in November, 1819, is an unfavorable one. On that subject he says:¹²⁹

Visited Evansville on the bluffs of the Ohio. Behind it is an almost impassable road through a sickly swamp, none of which near the road is yet cultivated. It seems too wet. Here I met a few English mechanics regretting they had left England, where they think they could do better.

The *Evansville Gazette*¹³⁰ contains an editorial statement on the subject of the health of Evansville, to the effect that it was "tolerably healthful." Between the lines may be seen that the writer felt that there had perhaps been some foundation at least, at some time, for the charge of unhealthy location.

¹²⁹ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I, 292.

¹³⁰ Issue of Sept. 9, 1824.

At the time of the discovery of the "Salt Wells," on Pigeon creek near Evansville, the *Gazette* issued an editorial prospectus of the town, claiming almost perfect health in it.¹³¹

But Evansville itself, located about half a mile east of the mouth of Pigeon creek, lay on very high ground, and above the highest water, even up to the present time; but on all three sides away from the river, the ground retreated until it was low, and at the time mentioned, it was entirely undrained. The same may be said of what is now Knight township on the east, as well as Union and Perry townships on the west and south. These lowlands, which have since become drained and are healthy for residence probably as much as the higher ground, were at the time standing in water much of the year.

Naturally the most inviting location for a settler, health considered, was the high ground beginning on what was afterwards the state road, which started in Evansville, extended northwardly across Pigeon creek near Anthony or Negley's mill, to Princeton and Vincennes. From Pigeon creek, near the present northern boundary of Evansville, north for the whole distance to the north line of the settlement, the ground was well drained and rolling, and the view was picturesque, especially the backbone of hills occupied by Mechanicsville (Stringtown), near the southern line of the settlement. This was at the beginning occupied by early settlers, some of English birth, including the Walkers, some of English ancestry, all with English sympathies, which united them in many ways with members of the settlement itself.

The tracts selected by the Hornbrooks, Maidlows and Ingle were located close together, and a great majority of the fifty-six families mentioned by Faux in his book written in November, 1819, were located so closely to the land so selected that the settlement was very compact. There were, however, at the same time and immediately afterwards other settlers properly included within the colony who settled over

¹³¹ *Evansville Gazette*, Aug. 27, 1823.

the line in Gibson county on the north, Posey on the west, and Warrick on the east, all, however, within a radius of ten or fifteen miles, most of it much nearer.

In August, 1819, three months before Faux's visit to John Ingle, Richard Flower wrote a letter¹³² from the Illinois settlement, giving some definite idea of its extent and numbers, in which he says:

On a tract of land from the Little Wabash to the Bonpas on the Great Wabash, about seventeen miles in width, and four to six from north to south, there were but a few hunters' cabins, a year and a half since, and now there are about sixty English families, containing nearly four hundred souls; and one hundred and fifty American, containing about seven hundred souls, who like the English for their neighbors, and many of whom are good neighbours to us.

The central part of the English and Irish location, some six miles east of Saundersville, included the Wheelers, Hillyards, Erskines and McJohnsons, who settled there early. The Hillyards and McJohnsons were there before Faux arrived. The Erskines arrived at Evansville by an ark Christmas day, 1819, just as Faux was preparing to leave the country. Faux did not meet any of these persons, and his observations are confined substantially to those persons whom he met in the immediate neighborhood of John Ingle's residence, and in Evansville, where he visited a short time. He speaks, however, of the people in the settlement as the "British,"¹³³ thus recognizing what was the fact, that the settlement properly embraced not only the English, but the Irish and a few Scotch, who came about the same time, and were for all practical purposes one with the English.

The soil upon which the central settlement was made was not of the best. In fact, the timber upon it would have indicated that fact to a farmer familiar with judging soil covered with timber. This criticism was made by Judge McCreary, associate judge of the circuit court, to Mr. Faux, who quotes him in a talk he had with Hornbrook himself, which, the judge said, Hornbrook did not relish.

The location of the Indiana settlement, with Saundersville

¹³² Sparks, *English Settlement in the Illinois*, letter 2, p. 24.

¹³³ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 295.

as its center, shows that the great body of the settlement occupied less space than that given by Richard Flower for the Illinois settlement. The great body of the settlers were in a circle of not over one-half the radius of the larger circle described. Its borders were extended so as to include the Parrett location across the county line in Posey county on the west, and the extension into Campbell township, Warrick county on the east, and to Warrenton, in Gibson county, on the north, and to include Mechanicsville on the south as far as Negley's mill, at the foot of the hill and ridge on which Mechanicsville is located and where the extreme southern boundary of the settlement terminated. Here the Walkers and others lived.

The Kentucky backwoodsmen were inclined by preference to select the lower lands in what is now Knight township and Union township, which at the present time are the finest agricultural lands in the county. The same preference was given by the same class of farmers to the lands in Gibson county and Posey county, much of which is the finest agricultural soil in this section, and one of the finest agricultural sections in the central west.

Cobbett¹³⁴ describes the land of the New Harmony settlement in Posey county as being as rich as a dung hill. One exception to the other Englishmen in selecting the location for the settlement was Robert Parrett, who came about the same time as the other leaders mentioned, but who stopped a year or two in New Jersey before coming to Indiana. He settled at or near what is now Blairsville, in Posey county, in 1819, and about ten miles distant from Saundersville, where the soil was of a superior character. Here he remained some five or six years and here some of his children, including the late William F. Parrett, circuit judge and member of congress, were born. In 1825 he moved with his family to his location of the Parrett homestead, embracing a hundred and sixty acres of land, then adjoining Evansville on the south and southeast, which is now a solidly built up portion of the city, including one of the finest residence streets. Much of this he

¹³⁴ Lindly, *Indiana as seen by Early Travelers*, 514.

retained till his death, leaving to his children a large estate, in the land alone.

The English settlement had no definite limits, but extended as its settlers moved around, and from the beginning its members drifted towards Evansville, along the high and rolling ground in the general neighborhood of the state road, located previous to 1819.

When the state road in Vanderburgh county was improved, the stations, of two miles in length each, embraced in separate descriptions for clearing timber and road building, were identified in their termini by stakes in the fields of the English settlers from Pigeon creek to the Gibson county line.¹³⁵

The road back of Evansville to Pigeon creek was, in 1819, when Faux described it, low and swampy, or at least undrained of standing water, and much of the land through which it ran was untenable for healthy residence. So, indeed, was much of the best land in the county. The description by early travelers, including Fearon, Faux, and others, lays great stress upon the matter of health and the neighborhood of extensive undrained lands, which properly disqualified it for residence of men and their families, who were entering a new life of supreme hardships. In this fact, greater than any other, may be found the explanation why the Hornbrooks, Ingle, Maidlows, Scott, Kennerly, Hillyards, Wheelers, Erskines and later comers, settled land not of the best soil. It compares unfavorably with the land lying lower, especially now when all of it is drained and in cultivation.

Faux visited Evansville for a day in November, 1819, meeting several of the prominent citizens who called upon him. As already mentioned, he says Judge McCreary complained greatly of the choice of land made by the British here. He wonders they could not better inform themselves, because when they came there was plenty of good land to be had and if not in bodies, yet in sections and in half sections. "The soil," he said, "is as thin as a clap-board or bear-skin. I would not give one of my quarter sections for all of the neigh-

¹³⁵ *Evansville Gazette*, July 13, 1822, Advt. for proposals.

borhood of the barrens." (The term "barrens," as then used, did not apply to arid soil, but rather to land which was not covered by tall timber.) "They must have been deceived by speculators, but all the English must herd together."¹³⁶

In this Judge McCreary was wrong. As stated, the original location was made in this section by Saunders Hornbrook, Jr., who came into the wilderness alone, and made his selection, probably without much knowledge of the nature of the soil, as he had not been a farmer in the old country.

It is true that Samuel Scott lived in this neighborhood before Hornbrook came. At Scott's house were held all the elections in that township, during his life, and they continued to be held there at the house of his widow, after his death, about 1825 or 1826.

Carlisle and Kennerly were on the ground, Kennerly at the north end of Mechanicsville, Carlisle farther north, toward the settlement, as afterwards located, and while he does not refer to the fact, it is not unlikely that Saunders Hornbrook, Jr., was influenced in some degree by these men, who were rugged, intelligent Englishmen, and as stated elsewhere, afterwards became part of the settlement.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Saundersville settlement was not located in the most fertile section, and that health of the location had much to do with its selection, a hundred years of cultivation and good farming have made the original location of the English settlement a location of good farms at the present time.

The first high ground north of Evansville on the line of travel to Princeton and Vincennes begins across Pigeon creek; here it rises abruptly so high and steep that the road from Pigeon creek near Negley's mill up to Mechanicsville at the top of the hill was over one-half mile long and so steep the entire distance that in the old time of dirt roads, it was an object of much solicitude to travelers. Northwardly extends the backbone of the ridge, furnishing a beautiful view of the hills and valleys for many miles, and on this ridge was located Mechanicsville, over a mile in length. Along this high

¹³⁶ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 295.

ground the state road, after it was located, was changed to go through the Saundersville settlement, forking at the north end of Mechanicsville easterly in the Petersburg road. This road went through the McCutchanville, Earles, Hillyard church and the Wheeler settlements, where, as in the case of the state road, the English and Irish settlers had blazed the way.

From the beginning, contemporaneously with the settlement of Evansville on the one side, and the Saundersville, McCutchanville and Hillyard settlements on the other, on account of its superior location for health, its proximity to the perennial Pigeon creek, and its nearness to the Ohio river, and itself lying on the direct road to Princeton and Vincennes from the river, Mechanicsville was an important center of activity and population. It was, so to speak, a connecting link between Evansville and the English settlement.

Here was one of the first meeting-houses for religious and educational uses built in the county (1832). It is still standing and in use, as the village church, in excellent condition, though eighty-seven years old, and now the oldest church building in the county.

At the south end and part of Mechanicsville, opposite Negley's mill, was a small village which has wholly disappeared.¹³⁷

Mechanicsville was a competitor with Evansville for the county seat of Vanderburgh county in 1818. It is stated that in the 30's, the citizens of Evansville had to go to Mechanicsville for first class blacksmithing and wagon-making. Here, in the early 30's, John Ingle, Jr., learned his trade as a cabinet-maker. Here later settled Dr. Lindley, one of the leading men of the county, also the Whittlesey family, long prominent citizens of the county, as well as of the city of Evansville; still later the McGhees, Olmsteads, Woods and others. Mechanicsville has always been and still is a well-settled community, and today is thickly settled with well-built houses, and in addition, on account of its superb location, has become a popular place of suburban residences of Evansville people.

¹³⁷ Elliott, *History of Vanderburgh County*, 94.

The subject of water was then of great importance to a settler seeking a farm location. A running stream upon the land was regarded as of great value. The elder Hornbrook calls attention to this advantage of the location of the settlement, in one of his letters. Faux's description of the difficulty of some of the farmers in getting water for their families and stock is both amusing and tragic.¹³⁸ George Flower's history of the Prairie settlement in Illinois, mentions the fact of the difficulty of procuring water at one time, when representatives of much of the village stood in line with buckets for two hours at night, being supplied from a well which he had dug.¹³⁹

The extreme eastern line of the settlement was from Pigeon creek, a point selected by the elder Igleheart and others including the Lockyears as a water supply. This creek runs north through Campbell township in Warrick county, some fifteen miles east of Saundersville; so that he was on the eastern edge of the settlement around which, however, a dozen English families, including the Lockyears, then and later settled. All of his three sons, and two of his four daughters married members of the British settlement. Christopher Lockyear, a brother-in-law of the senior Maidlow, came over with him in 1818. In 1918, at a reunion of his descendants in Evansville, one hundred of them were present.

Pigeon creek, as the source of unfailing water supply, was at the beginning regarded as one of great importance. Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., in the letter referred to, speaks of the landing of his son at Pigeon creek, rather than at Evansville. A number of the travelers, in referring to the location, give importance to the existence of Pigeon creek as a well-known stream of water. As late as 1835 it is said the most serious inconvenience that people of Evansville suffered was the want of good water, and that the Ohio river water was all that could be obtained till that time. The first cistern was then built by Ira French, who had bought the *patent right to build cisterns* in Vanderburgh county.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 266.

¹³⁹ George F. Flower, *History of Edwards County, Ill.*, 131.

¹⁴⁰ Riley, *History of Walnut Street Church, Evansville*, 26.

An examination of the records of the county commissioners of Vanderburgh county, which had jurisdiction in the establishment, maintenance and repair of roads, shows very clearly that there was universal interest among the first settlers in the establishment of roads in this part of the wilderness. Roads, when established, were for a long period not much more than blazed trails, and the best that could be done in the way of laying out and improving a road was cutting off the heavy timber, which usually left stumps around which the road was compelled to run. So long as the adjoining forest was uncleared, good drainage was impossible, and it was many years before good wagon or carriage roads were established.

The cost of hauling was so great as to be prohibitive of transportation of heavy material. Faux says that fifty cents was the usual price of carriage for one hundred pounds of corn for over twenty miles, sometimes higher, never lower. One bushel of corn weighed from fifty to fifty-six pounds, so that if it was hauled by weight, it would not pay the carriage for twenty miles. He says that Ferrel, a man of experience and discernment, stated that he would not fetch corn from Princeton, twenty miles off, as a gift, if he could grow it, nor would he carry it to the Ohio for sale, because it would not pay carriage and expenses. When, if ever, they will have surplus produce, he will give it to the pigs and cattle, which will walk to market.¹⁴¹ Again he says:

Yesterday a settler passed our door (Ingle's) with a bushel of corn-meal on his back, for which he had traveled twenty miles on foot to the nearest horse-mill, and carried it ten miles, paying seventy-five cents for it.

Almost the first acts of organized government of Vanderburgh county were the receiving of petitions for the opening of public roads, appointing viewers to pass upon the question of public utility, and to investigate and lay them out, and making orders establishing roads. After a road was established in the country districts, the question of its maintenance became important; a road supervisor was appointed and assigned to a specified portion or length of road. Some-

¹⁴¹ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 291.

times one road in the county, of length, would be embraced within the jurisdiction of several supervisors. To the supervisor was assigned the inhabitants sometimes by name, sometimes by a general description of locality, living within the territory of his district, near the particular highway which they, by law, were required to work. It was the duty of the supervisor to call upon all the able-bodied inhabitants to work the roads, and, in case of their failure to do so, to collect from them sufficient cash to hire a substitute.

So great was the interest of everyone in the proper maintenance of these highways of travel, that the leading citizens of the county, without exception, were willing to accept the appointment of road supervisor. This was true of all of the leading men named. This was in some respects the most important public position and nearest to the real interests of the community, although the pay was trifling. The proportion of county business embraced within this routine of work was so great for the first ten years as to indicate that it was of the greatest importance to the people and to the county commissioners, who had charge of it. There is no more reliable record of the names of citizens in particular localities, at a particular time, than is to be found in the enumeration of inhabitants for working roads in the particular road districts.

More voluminous, however, were the "Estray notices." The stock law was severe to protect stock from thieves. When a settler took up a horse, cow or hog, the law required him to go before the nearest justice with two neighbors and make an appraisement and give notice before the justice, who transmitted the paper, usually a single small sheet, to the clerk's office.

In preparing the list of English families in this settlement at fixed dates, this mass of contemporary record, each paper containing four names, with the date and the township located, enabled the writer, with his own knowledge and the aid of James Maidlow and James Erskine, to make out, with other aids, a substantially correct record.

The relative importance of the English settlement to other parts of the county during its first decade may in some measure be estimated by the amount of time and records devoted

by the county commissioners to the roads of that portion of the county, as compared to other portions. Upon such a comparison it appears that the northern part of the county, in which this settlement was located, was much farther advanced in the opening, existence and improvements of highways than the other parts of the county. That part of the county was more thickly settled than was the southern part. Saundersville was located in a central part of the settlement. It is described as "a flourishing post town in Vanderburgh county in 1826."¹⁴² In 1833 the same authority described it as "a small post village in Vanderburgh county ten miles north of Evansville." Soon afterwards it ceased to exist. It had, in the early twenties, among other interests, several stores, a mill, a warehouse and a number of houses occupied as residences. There is now no trace of it to be seen in the cultivated field where its location was formerly, and the exact spot of its location cannot be pointed out by any one. The recorded plat of the "town" unfortunately contains no reference to the section or part of section or other description, on which the town was located.

The road records of the county show that August 9, 1819, the State Road or Evansville and Princeton road was changed to run "through the Main Street of Saundersville," and this very definite north and south line of the landmark remains still the same. The New Harmony and Boonville road, built in 1820 and 1821, was ordered in two sections, one from "Mansell's mill, Saundersville," to the Warrick county line, to meet the proposed road to Boonville through Warrick county, one from "the town of Saundersville to New Harmony, to strike the Posey county line," etc., at a point, etc. If the road from Boonville to New Harmony has not been changed, then the east and west landmark is also fixed, locating Saundersville in the south part of Section 8. It is not impossible that the variation of a quarter of a mile, more or less, might in those times have been regarded as of little importance in descriptions. In fact, roads were not usually surveyed, but located by the judgment of road viewers who chose the "best route" between the termini.

¹⁴² Scott, *The Indiana Gazetteer*, 103.

Vanderburgh county at the time of the English settlement was located in a dense wilderness, the trees were of enormous height and size. For half a century Evansville has been called the hardwood lumber market of the world, resulting from the extent of the forests and size of trees, tropical in size, in this section, where the grain of the wood gives the lumber a finer quality than in timber grown south of the temperate zone. Clearings by the settlers were often as little as six or seven acres the first year, and gradually increased. John Ingle, at the end of the first year, when Faux visited him, had cleared seventeen acres, and was continuing the work, doing much of his own work in person.

Hogs were raised, half wild, in the woods on mast, with little expense, and pork was always in demand, one of the most available articles for use in exchange and barter, a substitute for money.¹⁴³ Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., established a pork house for cutting and curing the meat, the earliest in the settlement, and like many others, made one or more trips by flat boat to New Orleans.

Bears and wolves, when very hungry, would eat the hogs alive, and it was not uncommon for a hog to come home with the loss of a pound or two of flesh bitten from it. Cattle, hogs and sheep could only be certainly raised successfully by keeping them in an enclosure at night. Mrs. Crawford Bell, daughter of David Negley, described an exciting scene in her youth, when a gang of wolves in daylight chased two cows past her, when she and her sister were riding horseback, making her horse run away, fortunately not throwing its riders among the wolves. Before aid could be given, the wolves had overtaken, killed and partly eaten the cows.¹⁴⁴ One of the early settlers is quoted in a local history as stating that wolves were so bad in the 20's that settlers could not raise pigs enough to furnish their pork, and could not keep sheep at all.¹⁴⁵ Faux records that during the few days he, in

¹⁴³ John N. Truesdell in a notice dated Sept. 2, published Oct. 28, advertised that between the 15th and 25th of November, 1822, he would exchange salt for pork at Jones and Harrison's store in Evansville. *Evansville Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1822.

¹⁴⁴ Gilbert, *History of Vanderburgh County*, I, 54.

¹⁴⁵ (B. & F.), *History of Vanderburgh County*, 355.

company with John Ingle, visited the Birkbeck and Flower Prairie settlement in Illinois, in November, 1819, a gang of wolves in daylight attacked a large flock of sheep which was guarded by a shepherd, killing fifty before they could be driven off.¹⁴⁶ He also records a visit of one day and night to "Evansville on the bluffs of Ohio," and remarks "the wolves last night howled horribly and prowled into town."¹⁴⁷ Wild cats and panthers were very common and fierce and an enemy to any stock, and were known to follow persons in the woods, when visiting, from one house to another. Bears were very common and easily killed with the rifle, and their meat was very highly valued. At Faux's first meal in the settlement, at the house of John Ingle, bear meat was served to him, and by him very highly appreciated.¹⁴⁸ Deer meat was most plentiful and the meat was highly valued. Venison was taken by the merchants in payment of debts due them, and for goods sold by them.¹⁴⁹

The native hunters, as a rule, took only the hide and hind quarters of the deer, leaving the remainder in the woods to be devoured quickly by wolves and other wild beasts. Forty years later, deer were still to be found in the woods in all the counties in southern Indiana. From White river to the Ohio river along the Wabash was a strip of wilderness in Gibson and Posey counties, where they were to be found much later and are still occasionally seen and easily killed when driven out of the river bottoms by the high water floods.

Faux paid \$4.00 for a bear skin in 1819, worth, he said, four pounds in England, and the fine hair of one he carried back to England to be converted into wigs for his friend, Rev. John Ingle, the patriarch of Somersham.¹⁵⁰

There were in the settlement native hunters always ready to hunt up stock which frequently strayed off and was lost; such a one would take his rifle and sometimes be gone several days, generally bringing back the lost stock. The Lock-year brothers, whose father came from England with the

¹⁴⁶ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 258.

¹⁴⁷ *Id.* 292.

¹⁴⁸ *Id.*, 225.

¹⁴⁹ *Evansville Gazette*, Jan. 14, 1824.

¹⁵⁰ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 292.

Maidlows, were, like many of their neighbors, good hunters as well as farmers.

The controlling idea in the structure of the houses in which most of these first settlers in the wilderness lived, as well as its furnishings, was perfect economy of money, which at times was almost unknown. Gold and silver were a great rarity, seldom seen, and paper money, also scarce, was very unreliable in its rating, and in the purchase of the necessities of life people learned to do without money. So it was in house building. Birkbeck's first log house cost him \$20.00. Iron, lead, glass, salt, and rifles could not be made in this section, and were very costly. Houses were built often without nails or windows, and made of logs fitted by the axes and raised by the settlers at house raisings, which were great social occasions. Faux thus describes the log house of John Ingle, of Saundersville, a picture of which "drawn from Ingle Refuge, State of Indiana, U. S., by W. Faux," is the frontispiece in his book:¹⁵¹

My friend's log house as a first one is the best I have seen, having one large room and a chamber over it, to which you climbed by a ladder. It has at present no windows, but when the doors are shut the crevices between the rough logs admit light and air enough above and below. It is five yards square and twenty feet high. At a little distance stands a stable for two horses, a corn crib, pig sty and a store; for store keeping is his intention, and it is a good one. Two beds in the room below and one above lodge us.¹⁵²

Both wooden chimneys in the house caught fire during Faux's visit and threatened destruction of the house. The house was heated by fireplaces large enough to hold large logs and nearly a quarter of a cord of wood. The cabins were sometimes built with opposite doors so that a horse could haul the back log into the house in front of the fireplace. An early settler describes the houses in the entire settlement in his youth, in the 20's, from five to ten years after the time of Faux's description, as follows:

The country was wild, indeed. There were no roads, mere paths, no wagon roads, no wagons to run in them, and no houses, but log cabins.

¹⁵¹ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 20.

¹⁵² *Id.*; 226.

There were not more than one or two frame houses in Warrick county. The whole country was a wilderness.¹⁵³

The furnishings of the houses were in many cases very primitive and showed the same ingenuity without money as in building the houses, in devising tables, chairs, bedsteads, and more often substitutes, formed by fastening boards or timbers in the floor or walls. Faux says:

I went one mile and a half to borrow from Mrs. Delight Williams six tumblers for the use of our coming Christmas party. This step was necessary or our friends, the Dons of the settlement, must drink out of tin cups or pots. Mrs. Williams is the widow of the whipped Yankee, whose story I have related. [This incident occurred in the Illinois Prairie settlement. Williams was whipped on strong suspicion of being a thief. He died in Evansville later of his injuries received at the hands of regulators.] She lives in a house without a chimney, having only a hole in the roof to let out the smoke, a fire being made in any part. She was rather unwilling to lend these tumblers because they came from England and money could not replace them if broken. She should expect five dollars, though in England one dollar bought six.¹⁵⁴

The records of Vanderburgh county show an indictment against two young men of an English family for robbery of the house of James Cawson, a neighbor. Cawson and his wife were wealthy. They were one of the thirty-nine families who sent Fearon to America. They brought from England with them many of the household conveniences, practically unknown in the wilderness of Indiana. And these, it was charged, tempted the young men who broke into Cawson's house and stole them. The items are described with much detail in the indictment. It is interesting to note some of the sequels of this affair. The defendants were acquitted of robbery, but their father was indicted, but later acquitted for perjury in testifying at their trial. Cawson was indicted for compounding a felony, whereby he got his goods back and ceased to be interested in the prosecution. While an agreement not to prosecute under these circumstances is prohibited as against the policy of the law, it is believed, even in this age, that police aid is more often sought to recover stolen goods than to vindicate the majesty of the broken laws.

¹⁵³ *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.), 355.

¹⁵⁴ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 300.

When Cawson was placed upon his trial before a jury in the Vanderburgh circuit court, he challenged the whole array of jurors and claimed the right to be tried by a jury *de mediatate linguae*, that is to be tried as a foreigner, by a jury half natives and half foreigners. This practice is rare and at the present time practically unknown in Indiana. The court sustained his challenge and directed a jury to be empaneled, half English and half natives, the former being taken from the English settlement, among his neighbors, and Cawson was acquitted. The names of the foreigners on the jury were Alanson Baldwin, Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., Edmund Maidlow, George Potts, William Mills, James Maidlow. These individuals, including Cawson himself, all became citizens, however, as soon as eligible, under the law at that time, which required several years previous residence.

Nothing more clearly appears at this time than that success by farmers in the wilderness, such as these men became, required an adjustment to the conditions of frontier life. These pioneers performed household and farm labor without hired help, a life of closest economy and continued sacrifice. The native laborers were, as a rule, more or less shiftless and unreliable. Good land could be bought from the United States at \$2.00 per acre, later at \$1.25 per acre, on payment of one-fourth cash, the remainder on long time; so that a thrifty and industrious man could easily make upon the land the money to buy it, as the purchase price became due. Therefore, with such opportunities, capable workers naturally preferred by their labor to own their own land, instead of working in service for others. Faux narrates an incident when John Ingle hired a native preacher to do a job of carpenter work of some magnitude at that time, and, trusting to his cloth, paid him forty dollars in advance, but the man refused to begin or do the work, but kept the money, while his employer had no recourse, as the preacher was irresponsible at law, and he lost his money. It was exceptional that there was any profit in hired labor on the farm under the conditions as they existed at the beginning.

Women house servants became *ipso facto* members of the family, on terms of equality or privileges with members of

the family, and in a country where women were scarce, chances of marriage were plentiful and interfered with long employments.

The life of these pioneers in the wilderness was, therefore, one of the hardest labor, involving the greatest sacrifice of convenience, comfort and pleasure. It was the severing of ties of relationship and friendship, leaving organized society and civilization behind them. To these men and women who came from Great Britain, where orderly society and restraints of convention, as well as of law, were properly established, the change was a severe test.

The panic of 1818, already referred to, lasted for many years, and checked the growth of Evansville for more than a decade, checked also active emigration to the British settlement. The reduction of the price of congress land from \$2.00 to \$1.25 per acre immediately destroyed land values and ruined many people. The financial effect upon the country was universal. New Orleans, which was practically the outlet for the surplus product of this section, which could only be carried by water, was affected by the panic, and had no surplus money; from it this section had derived its specie.

The town of Saundersville, which had considerable life during the first few years of the settlement, disappeared and before 1840 not an inhabitant lived in it.¹⁵⁵ Such was the fate of many other platted towns. The town scheme of John Ingle and his associates and the British settlement were entirely different matters. The latter was a natural and successful early settlement in Indiana, and the foundation of much wider growth and influence. During the panic the people did not suffer. They had plenty to eat, the women made the clothing, houses were built when necessary, without iron, glass or money. Wooden hinges even were not uncommon within the memory of persons now living.

Emigration to this settlement and to Evansville as well, never wholly ceased. The English settlers moved from Evansville into the country, but more often from the country into Evansville, and mixed as one people. In the 40's and

¹⁵⁵ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, X, 251.

50's, when the greater tide of emigration better filled up the unoccupied lands in this section, English people came in large numbers with those from other lands. All the time communication had been kept up by correspondence and an occasional visit between the English in the settlement and their acquaintances, friends and relatives in the old country. This resulted in large numbers of British emigrants coming into this settlement and other parts of the county, including the city of Evansville.

Before the middle of the last century, John Ingle, Jr., had established in Evansville a primitive bureau of immigration, one of the important duties of which was to send money through John Ross, Banker, Chatteris, England, from the English here to their friends and relatives in the old country, to enable them to come over as well as to divide the profits of a successful life in America with the old people and needy relatives in England, and not infrequently collect legacies in England for people here. This continued for many years.

Through influences such as these, there came from England to Vanderburgh county, and to the city of Evansville while it was still small, a number of young and vigorous men, who soon became leaders in their various fields. Among these were leading farmers, builders and contractors in wood, brick and stone, who in the last generation were, at the least, equally, if not more prominent and capable than any other element, in the building in Evansville, and other towns and cities in this section, of churches, schools, sewers and other large structures, requiring ability, capital and public confidence. A number of these acquired wealth and position, and some of them are still living. There was for many years a section in the center of Evansville below Main street called Little Chatteris. It is not the purpose of this inquiry to attempt to deal with the careers of these later emigrants, or even to mention the names of prominent people among them; rather to deal with emigrants who came previous to 1830.

In these investigations, upon which much time and labor have been spent, a personal knowledge of some of the pioneers mentioned and of most of their children, and of facts and

circumstances narrated, aided by family history, have been of material service to the writer. The success and importance of the first British settlement in Indiana lies much in its being a vital part of the beginning of organized society and government in this section, and its impress of Anglo-Saxon ideals at the beginning, out of which and upon which in a substantial degree were established the present conditions in this community, including the city of Evansville.

So perfect was the assimilation that the history of the settlement is not the tracing of a separate element, and but for a careful record of these details there would be preserved now no dividing line between the British element and other elements in the early settlement of this part of Indiana.

The American Marines at Verdun, Chateau Thierry, Bouresches and Belleau Wood

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Paris Island, S. C., was alive with khaki clad young men, when I arrived at the Marine Training camp shortly after war had been declared. Our instructions emphasized the use of the rifle and a knowledge of the traditions of the Marine Corps, which we were so soon to be called upon to uphold on the field of honor.

From this station I was transferred to Quantico to join the Ninety-Sixth company, Sixth regiment, which was then undergoing an intensive training, preparatory to its departure for France. There the days were spent in long marches through the Virginia hills, interspersed with detailed instruction in the use of machine guns. We had profited from the experience of the English, and every man was forced to qualify as an expert gunner. For there had been a time on the British front when hundreds of these valuable weapons lay scattered on the battle fields, for want of men who knew how to use them.

After weeks of impatient waiting, at last the hour of our departure came. Early one morning under cover of darkness we were assembled at the railroad station and quietly entrained. We were sent to the Philadelphia navy yards, where we found our ship waiting in the offing. We went aboard immediately and that night slipped silently down the bay. Our trip across was uneventful save for raids on the kitchen. While one man regaled the cook with stories, nimble fingers searched the larder for dainties.

In the cold gray dawn of early morning, life belts adjusted, we entered the submarine zone. A heavy fog enveloped the ship. Standing on the quarter deck, one could hardly see across the rail. It was almost noon when the sunlight dispelled the murky fog and revealed the presence of our expected destroyers. The long arm of Uncle Sam had reached out across the sea to protect us in our need and convoy us safely to port. It was evening when we sailed up the broad waters of the Loire river into the port of Saint Nazaire, Peasants working in the fields stopped to look, and, discovering the khaki clad lads on the decks, dropped their hoes and leaped with joy; waving their arms with a warmth of welcome that made up for the lack of any demonstration at our departure. The early spring sunlight through the clear air brought out the vivid coloring of the landscape. There in that valley of the Loire we saw France in all her verdant beauty.

Our trains were ready and we had our first experience of riding as cattle in a French box car. The sign, 40 Hommes-8 Chevaux," amused us at first until we realized what it meant to travel three days and nights across France with 40 men in a space ten by twenty feet. Fortunately, it was warm and we escaped some of the hardships others had undergone who had preceded us. Men stood until they became so exhausted they were able to lie down and sleep despite that the others occasionally walked upon them. The floors were alive with "cooties," and while we didn't see the front for some days, we never spent another idle hour.

But after all it was quite endurable and we enjoyed the trip in a way. It was a beautiful ride across the heart of France, and the way the villagers shouted "Americans," warmed our hearts and made us happy to feel we were there to help them.

Our destination was the little town of Damblain, in the foothills of the Vosges, close to the birthplace of Joan D'Arc. There we detrained. And there one of the men almost caused a stampede as he ran through the crowd shouting that one could buy wine for twelve cents a gallon. "This is some town," exclaimed an old sergeant with a row of campaign bars across his breast. But one swallow was enough. It

tasted like varnish. The French thought it inconceivable that we should drink so much water, but it was always a source of wonder to us how they could drink their "vin ordinaire." On the day following our arrival we marched to the little villa of Blevencourt, where my company was billeted. We slept in barns for the most part and there in the highlands it was not unusual to wake up in the morning beneath a blanket of snow.

It was here that we had our first experience with the German spy system. Four gypsy girls entered the town, apparently for the purpose of selling small trinkets to the soldiers. They visited the various billets, but no one suspected they had any ulterior motives until an aeroplane landed in a field close to the town late one night and flew quickly away when approached by the guards. One of the gypsies was found in the field and she with her companions was immediately arrested by the French authorities, who said later they had found sufficient evidence to justify their being interned. Incidents of this kind soon taught us the value of absolute secrecy in all our movements.

We were only there a short time until we were sent to the front. We went in by train to Fort Dugny, one of the ring of forts surrounding Verdun. Evidently our movements had been observed, for when we arrived at the railroad station the Germans began to bombard it. We escaped with only the loss of the Fifth regiment's band instruments. The country in this section was as barren as a desert. The long column moved hurriedly on to the road and we marched thirty miles in to the protection of the Verdun highlands.

Hidden away in the woods of Camp Massa we rested. There we came into our first intimate contact with the activity on the front. An anti-aircraft battery was located near us. Whenever a German plane appeared in the sky the battery went into action. To us it was always an amusing sight. Every Frenchman looked like he was trying to do all the work himself, while all talked so fast and furiously you wondered who was in command. When the aeroplane came into range they would open fire and it was a wonderful sight to see the balls of shrapnel bursting close to the plane, following it in its

efforts to escape and leaving a long trail of little white puffs of smoke across the sky.

The roar of the guns on the front rolled up about us and vibrated through the valleys. An occasional shell fell near enough to make us uneasy. It was here while walking in the woods one Sunday morning with some comrades that we were attracted by the sound of music. We listened, and above the rumble of the guns there floated through the trees the sound of a church service. There in the midst of all that great destruction of human life, only a little distance from the red ruin of the front line, was a padre and a group of French soldiers at prayer. We stopped, knelt beside them and prayed with the feeling that one can only experience when he is standing on the brink of eternity.

Nearby were several little graves on the roadside with their wooden crosses marked with the tri-color. We wondered how long it might be until we would be occupying one. There are many of these little wooden crosses on the roadsides of France, and when the marches were unusually long and hard and we were very tired and sleepy, we used to envy those sleeping there in the peace and silence of the forest, and death did not seem such an enemy after all, if only we could lay down our heavy packs and rest forever.

The American army had been assigned the section of the lines from Verdun eastward to the Swiss border, the reason being that their lines of communication would lie to the south and not interfere with those already established by the French and British. The Marines were placed on the right bank of the Meuse, the lines extending from Verdun eastward. We moved in, one night. Early in the evening while patrolling the roads we saw a small balloon, such as is often seen on the Fourth of July, float up from a woods where a high wind caught it and sent it sailing away towards the German lines. It was carrying a message from some German spy, telling them that we were going in to relieve the French. As we wended our way along the road we were held up by some unexplained delay, when suddenly out of the inky darkness of the sky came a salvo of shells that completely destroyed the

road just ahead of us, and which would have annihilated all had we continued our march.

These trenches which we were to occupy had been dug by the French Colonial troops in the early part of the war. They were in a very bad condition and there was plenty of work to do in repairing them. The dugouts swarmed with vermin; huge rats ran across the men as they slept, and wrought havoc with the emergency rations. This section had been an inactive one since the great Verdun offensive of 1916 and was being used at the time by the French as a rest sector under what seemed to us a tacit agreement that, "if you don't shoot at me, I won't shoot at you." Our instructions were to keep our heads down and not to permit the enemy to see that the Americans had entered the lines.

But they didn't know the Marines.

When the dawn came our men climbed onto the parapets and when they saw some Germans down by a creek washing their clothing they promptly opened fire on them. This not only brought down the wrath of the French but a raid by the Germans. Now came our long waited chance for action. The Germans after a preliminary bombardment, came over on us in force. When they reached the barbed wire entanglements in front of our trenches, we opened up such a heavy rifle and machine gun fire that we held them in the wire until the American artillery, which had only moved in an hour before, got into action, and the barrage they poured upon them sent them back with a heavy loss of life. We had been successful in our first encounter, and a wave of such pride and enthusiasm swept over the line that it silenced all criticism and dispelled any doubt in the minds of the French that we could fight.

Resistance became more stubborn and raids more daring as our first feeling of nervousness wore off. Encounters with the enemy patrols were eagerly sought as the clashes grew more frequent, for we invariably exacted a heavy toll. The Germans infuriated at the appearance of this new foe, bombarded our positions and resorted to every device to make our stay in the trenches as uncomfortable as possible. Every trick known to trench warfare was resorted to and sleep soon

became impossible. There they first conferred upon us the name of "Devil Dogs," and as there had been only two other units named by the Germans during the entire war: The Scottish troops, called "The Ladies from Hell," and the Alpine Chasseurs, the "Blue Devils," we felt that we had been very highly complimented. When we left the trenches General Harbord was placed in command. General Pershing told him at that time he was placing him in charge of the finest body of troops in France. We now took our position in the Allied armies as an equal, for we had been tried by fire and surpassed their expectations.

On the Somme the great German offensive was at its height. The Boche was slowly driving a wedge between the French and British on the Oise. Ameins, Perrone, and Montdidier hung in the balance, when word came to rush the Second division to the Picardy front. I looked for the last time down over "No Man's Land," the long winding brown lines that marked the network of trenches spreading over the valley. An ominous silence broods over this shamble; danger ever threatening. The grass had turned to a brilliant green, the few trees that had escaped destruction were sending forth their leaves, and the little birds sang on their branches. Nature seemed in tune; only man was discordant.

Our march to the Somme was a forced one. The French line was bending to the breaking point. It was a question as to whether we would arrive in time to give them the needed assistance to hold it. For four days and nights we hiked down the long dusty Dieppe road. It was hot and sultry. Water was scarce. The horses and mules in the artillery train died on the roadside—walked to death. There we demonstrated that there is no limit to human endurance as long as there remains the will to do.

In the villages we saw the evidence of the shocking cruelties committed by the Germans in the early part of the war. Little children, with their arms cut off, trudged alongside the column that we might see for ourselves their misery. If we had ever had any doubts as to the truthfulness of the stories of Hun atrocities, they were dispelled then and there.

Scarcely had we arrived on the Picardy front when word came that the Germans had broken through the line on the Chemin des Dames, and were advancing on Paris at the rate of twenty-five miles a day. The most dramatic moment of the war had come. General Pershing had told Marshal Foch, "The American people would be proud to be engaged in the greatest battle of all history." Foch gave his consent. The Marines were ordered to Chateau Thierry. We moved immediately. After an all night march to Serans we were placed in French automobile trucks and started across France in one of the most famous rides in history. The French people along the road had received word of our coming and at every cross roads and village groups stood to see us pass. They realized the Americans were going into battle. They pelted us with flowers and strewed the roads with daisies from the fields. "Good luck," they cried, while little groups of maimed children held up their arms in mute supplication.

Tears came into the eyes of the men, vengeance into their hearts, and a feeling of exaltation swept over the long caravan, blazing forth in their faces and causing the French to call us "Crusaders." We passed through Meaux, and the main body of the French army in full retreat. All semblance of formation had disappeared. Soldiers mingled with civilians in a mad rush to safety. Beyond Meaux the road was filled with refugees. A motly looking mass of men and women and children and cattle and carts. Toothless old women and aged men struggling under heavy burdens. Young girls dragging little children scurried along the edge of the fields. They watched us pass, without emotion, pausing only to cry, "Tue Le Boche," and draw their hands across their throats, suggesting this method as the most effective means. Sad and sullen with despair, hatred flashing in their eyes, they trudged along. As we sang snatches of songs an old woman shook her head and inquired how we could sing when we were going up to be killed.

Full thirty hours we rode. The boom of the cannons came to our ears. Enemy avions droned over our heads, dropping occasional bombs. Night fell and we finally drew up in a

small village where we bivouacked, just behind the battle lines.

This was the darkest of the dark hours of the Allied cause. The French and British armies lay stunned from the heavy onslaughts of the past month. France had abandoned all hope. In Paris trains waited at the stations to evacuate the civilian population. The Germans were on the outskirts of Chateau Thierry. Only a miracle could save France from disaster.

This was the crisis the Marines faced when we advanced down the Metz-Paris road on June 1, 1918. The French rear-guard, which had been fighting for more than a week against a foe vastly superior in numbers and equipped with a preponderance of artillery, filtered slowly through our lines. As we passed a clump of trees near the Triangle Farm, a French officer at the head of a company of horsemen dashed up to my section and shouted, "Go back while you have the opportunity. There are many Boche!" "Many Boche," I answered, "why that's just what we came over here to see."

Near the southern limits of the Bois Belleau the Germans encountered a stone wall of resistance. They advanced through a wheat field in their famous mass formation, confident of victory. Bayonets flashed, machine guns burst forth and a heavy rifle fire raked their ranks. The Boche recoiled, came on. Our men took careful aim before they shot. The Boche wavered and broke, crawling off through the wheat to shelter in the woods. A French colonel witnessing the fight declared it was the first time in the history of European warfare that men ever sighted their guns and fired with such precision.

Many difficulties were experienced as we advanced through the wooded areas. The tree tops were infested with machine gun nests. This meant work with the bayonet, hand to hand with an enemy we had already found we could master. We took no prisoners and the only Germans we left behind were dead Germans. They were quick to perceive this and changed the whimper of "Kamarad" to the plea, "La Guerre est fini." But the thoughts of those maimed children and

the menace to our own homes only made us sink our bayonets the deeper.

Then followed days and nights of heavy bombardment. Sleep was impossible. Food was scarce. Even the red embalmed Argentine beef, called "Monkey Meat," was A. W. O. L. (absent without leave). There was only excitement to live on. My company was sent down to take the town of Bouresches, a tactical position which the Boche had already seized. To reach the town it was necessary to cross a wheat field more than 200 yards wide. The German artillery opened up point blank upon us, supported by a withering machine gun fire, the bullets running like a river of lead through the tops of the wheat. Captain Donald F. Duncan stepped forth from the woods, calmly smoking his pipe, and swung his cane over his head as a signal to advance. He was shot down instantly. The first American officer to fall at Chateau Thierry, he left an example of coolness and bravery under fire that was an inspiration to all who knew him.

Advancing by short, quick rushes and then down to the ground for cover, we swept forward in the old American style of fighting. In the screen of trees directly before Bouresches, the foliage and branches rattled and vibrated with the put-put-put of the concealed machine guns. As my section advanced, eight of the twelve men were killed before we had gone a hundred feet. We pushed on. The bullets whipped and cut our clothing and clipped the ammunition from our belts. Men fell fast upon that field. Out of one hundred and fifty who started across that field but twenty-four reached the town itself. A fierce hand-to-hand struggle ensued. Bouresches was occupied by 300 of the enemy. Every street had its fight; sticking—slashing—banging. Machine guns in the doors of the buildings, in the church steeple, behind piles of rubbish, and sharpshooters in every coign of vantage. I ran down one street with a lieutenant who had the bars shot off his shoulders. A high explosive shell burst above us, denting our helmets, but we were spared. In a cellar a number of the enemy hid with a machine gun. I tossed a hand grenade into their midst and it was "Finis La Guerre" for them. We soon found we were in advance of our

lines, as the German artillery began to pound us on three sides. The Second Engineers rushed in to our assistance. Some carried only picks and shovels, but, full of fight, those brave fellows made it possible for us to hold our gain against the immediate counter-attack. Replacement men came in to fill our decimated ranks under cover of darkness. Five of them assigned to my section were killed the same night before the poor chaps had a chance to see a German. Few houses in the town escaped the destructive fire of the artillery that hammered us incessantly. In the cellar of one we found an old man and his wife. Urged to go to the rear, they refused. Later the place was found deserted. The man had left. The body of the woman was hanging to a rafter, where she had sought escape in suicide.

The capture of Bourseches was the preliminary step to the fight in Belleau wood, now named by the French "The Forest of the Brigade of the Marines." Our artillery arrived. Four hundred guns moved in at night. Information had been obtained that the Germans were filtering into the wood in force preparatory to making another thrust. Just before daylight the American artillery opened up and a perfect hurricane of shells fell upon it. The Bois became ablaze with the lights of bursting shells. The drumfire of a hundred cannon was terrifying, as the heavy barrage swept back and forth through the trees.

The Marines charged. They rushed into the impregnable mass of tangled underbrush with blood-curdling yells. Falling naturally into the Indian style of advancing, they crawled from tree to tree. The Boche gave way. He had had enough. From the wood into the road poured hundreds of the men in gray. We turned our machine guns into them and piled them up in heaps until they sought another outlet. It was American pluck against the German mass formation. The tide turned. American spirit triumphed. The Boche was beaten, his morale destroyed and Paris was saved.

Eight thousand Marines were pitted against thirty-five thousand Prussian Guards, the crack troops of Germany. These divisions had been resting for almost a month behind the lines near Noyon, held for just such an emergency. They

were sent in to make the final dash to Paris a success. Is it any wonder that we were as surprised as the German General Staff, when they received the news of their retreat?

Just what the losses were on the German side we have never heard, but we do know that there were less than two thousand Marines surviving when we finally withdrew. With no greater number than eight thousand Marines in the lines at any time our losses in the war were over twelve thousand. Only twenty-five Marines were taken prisoners by the Germans. With us it was kill or be killed.

In a service of less than three months, the Marine Corps received eleven citations for bravery, this being the highest number given to any unit during the war.

From this sector we were sent to a woods just in the rear of the lines on the Soissons front, where we rested and received replacements. Early on the morning of the following day we moved forward under orders to capture the town of Lucy de Bruges. When we swept into the town we discovered it was then held by Americans, so we withdrew into a woods on the east to await further orders. The German observers, in a huge sausage balloon, saw us enter the woods. They took a few sighting-in shots at us during the afternoon. That night their artillery opened up with one of the most vicious gas attacks recorded during the war.

When the shells began to fall, a lieutenant ran over to me and gave orders to move the men in our platoon out of the woods and onto a road a hundred feet distant, where they might find some protection from the shells. He had scarcely shouted the order when a shell burst near him and I never saw him again. It was very dark in the woods, which made it necessary for me to remove my gas mask and summon the men to me by the sound of my voice. The shells were falling on the path to the road about every six seconds. This obliged us to time the shells by counting off the seconds and sending the men through the barrage on the run, starting them while pieces of the exploded shells were still flying in the air. In this manner I succeeded in passing through in safety about forty men. The others had shifted for themselves. Gunnery Sergeant Fred W. Stockman, an old-time member of the

Marine Corps, walked back and forth through the woods that night, driving the men out of their fox holes and making them get up and go to me, as all were loath to leave the shallow holes which provided at least a little protection. The woods was a mass of crashing shells and falling trees as the gas, mingled with high explosives, swept through the branches. But the brave sergeant never stopped until he had made every man he could find move out to the road. Poor chap; he voluntarily gave up his life that he might save others. Such deeds are immortal.

When I reached the road I found that the men, unable to see in the darkness and seriously hampered by their gas masks, had stretched themselves out in the center of the roadway instead of under the shelter of a low bank on the side of the road. I had not as yet put on my mask and so was able to see their predicament. I walked down the long line, ordering them to crawl over to the bank. While doing this I found that a German spy, a member of our own organization, was continually passing the word up to the men to take off their masks, endeavoring to deceive them by saying that there was no gas; that the odor was that of the high explosives. I sent several men in search of him, but in the great confusion we were not able to locate the guilty one. By this time I had put on my gas mask, but it was blown from my face by a shell a few minutes later. There was no escape from this terrible situation. We could only lie quiet and take the "strafing." When daylight came, the woods which we had been in were completely destroyed, and there was an inch coating of pieces of shrapnel and shells over the roadway.

Then began the evacuation of the wounded. The gas, while I was inhaling it, did not feel so disagreeable. It made me feel quite sleepy, but aside from the burning sensation in my eyes, I experienced little pain. I endeavored to carry some ammunition down to the line just beyond us, when a sudden weakness came over me. An officer, noticing me stagger, ordered me to the rear. I took about twenty men with me, all suffering from the effects of the gas. We walked about two miles against the wind, after removing the greater portion of our clothing, in order to escape the severe body

burns that follow mustard gassing. Nine of these men died on the way.

We were sent through to Paris. When we arrived we had all become blind, and it was ten days before we again saw daylight. The damage to my throat and lungs held me in the hospital for eight months. Only two men out of my original company of 250 survived this encounter, and practically all of the men who had composed the original members of the Fifth and Sixth regiments had been wiped out.

The Second division, of which the Marines composed one-half, sustained the highest number of casualties, captured more prisoners, guns and territory than any other division, and wrote into American history one of its most brilliant pages.

War is a crucible through which men pass into larger and nobler lives. It brings out the courage to die for one's ideals; it overcomes the fear of death and leads us into a higher appreciation of all that is good and true, a more exalted patriotism and a firmer faith in God.

Reviews and Notes

Papers of Thomas Ruffin, Vol. II, Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, collected and edited by J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, Ph.D., Alumni Professor of History in the University of North Carolina, Raleigh, 1918, pp. 625.

The letters of this volume cover the period from 1831 to 1858. Judge Ruffin took an active part in southern politics and the letters here printed throw much light on the development of the political estrangement of the South, beginning with 1830. Far more interesting are the letters describing farm life in North Carolina. The elegant style, the typical southern sentiment and culture of the old time are shown as well in these letters, as I have seen. Besides being a lawyer by profession, chief justice of the State, he was a planter. He writes of his slaves absconding after quarreling with the overseer and later returning of their own accord. One slave wandered as far as London, east Kentucky. Judge Ruffin reveals in his letters, always calm and dignified, the gradually growing restlessness of the slaves, the irritation of the planters at the increasing interference from the North and the widening gap between North and South. Aside from the historical value these letters make most delightful reading.

Fighting the Spoilsman; Reminiscences of the Civil Service Movement. —By WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, LL.D., N.Y.G., P. Putnam's Sons, 1919, pp. 348, price \$2.00.

Mr. Foulke has been an active member of the National Civil Service Reform League almost from its organization at Newport in 1881. Under Roosevelt he became a member of the Civil Service Commission, resigning in the spring of 1903 on account of failing health. In State and Nation the author thus had about twenty years experience in the field of Civil Service Reform. The movement is treated historically,

covering the administrations of Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson. Each of these Presidents, Mr. Foulke believes, was personally favorable to the reform, but all were not equally capable of evading or refusing the demands of the politicians for plunder. The volume is not an essay nor sermon on the merits of Civil Service Reform; the author assumes that the American people are convinced of the justice and value of the reform, but a historical record of the actual struggle, names, dates, places, facts, documents, and accusations are freely given. It is hardly necessary to say to those acquainted with the character and skill of Mr. Foulke that his work is done fearlessly and skillfully. Many reformers grow impatient with the slow-moving world and retire from the fight in disgust. Mr. Foulke is of a different temper. While carrying on a fight to the death he has preserved his good temper, which is shown, even in the record, by a tinge of humor. The characteristics of the spoilsmen are set forth in numerous cases. It may be objected that these cases are tried *ex parte* but in most cases we will forever have to do without the other side. The limits of the classified civil service as well as other problems incident, such as superannuation, are set forth. As a historical record of this political struggle in America this volume will take rank along with the writings of Carl Shurz, with decided advantage in concise and pointed treatment, in fact is so systematically presented as to make it especially useful in the schools.

Iowa Authors and Their Works. A Contribution Toward a Bibliography. By ALICE MARPLE, Assistant Curator. Introduction by EDGAR R. HARLAN, Curator, Des Moines, 1918, pp. 359.

The scheme of this bibliography is not clear. In the instructions to the author this rule is laid down: "Please disclose the existence of, and work done by any one fairly entitled to be regarded an author or writer of a book, and so connected with the State as to have been something within the meaning of the term 'An Iowa Author'". The rule of

inclusion or exclusion offers some difficulties. Beginning on the one hand some are included who were born in Iowa but left in childhood and never returned; on the other hand are included those who have made Iowa their homes only in their old age. The following list of historians, culled from the pages at random will illustrate: Rufus Blanchard, E. J. Benson, Geo. W. Botsford, H. E. Bourne, Emerson Hough, E. J. James, J. A. James, Jesse Macey, C. E. Merrian, Milo Quaife, B. F. Shambaugh, Albert Shaw, F. N. Thorpe, Jacob Van der Zee. No data is given beyond dates of birth and death, lists of books or articles and the publishers.

Political Parties in Michigan 1837-1860. An Historical Study of Political Issues and Parties in Michigan from the Admission of the State to the Civil War. FLOYD BENJAMIN STREETER. Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, 1918, pp. 401.

This is University Series IV, Michigan Historical Publications. This is not a history, in the strict sense of the word, but as indicated by the title, a study or interpretation. The facts on which the author's conclusions rest are not stated in sufficient detail to enable one not thoroughly conversant with the facts in the case to judge of the soundness of the interpretation. The study bears the evidences in itself however of being a very careful and reliable interpretation. There are so many elements in the interpretation of political history, all uncertain in value, that a given body of facts admit of almost infinite explanation or interpretation. A customary device for setting forth the truths of an election is the political map, and the study under review has a number of excellent ones, but a careful study of political development in Indiana indicates that such maps carry about an equal amount of truth and error.

Another common line of interpretation in western history is that based on ancestry and previous homes of the voters. The reviewer is convinced that in Indiana at least conclusions based on such reasoning are worthless. There are so many instances of political leaders from remotely different

sections combining in the heartiest coöperation and other instances of men from the same original neighborhood bitterly opposing each other that it seems futile to attempt to establish any valid conclusions.

In dealing with the political influence of the churches in Indiana similar difficulties have been met. Resolutions by meetings of ministers have often been found to furnish a poor clue to the political conduct of their parishioners. Ardent Freesoilers and pro-slavery leaders belonged to the same church. In only two instances in Indiana does it seem the influence of the churches was sufficient to decide the elections.

In general Mr. Streeter's conclusions for Michigan apply to Indiana. The Jacksonian Democrats, the Whigs, the Freesoilers, the union of factions to form the Republican party, the Knownothings, the personal followings resulting in faction, the cleavage between office-holding politicians and the voters—especially federal officeholders—all find their counterpart in Indiana. However, there are some significant differences. There seems to have been more personality in politics in Michigan than in Indiana, or perhaps these changes came later in Michigan and are incident to the frontier. The period of personal politics ended in Indiana about 1830 while it would seem to have lasted in Michigan till after 1840. There also seems to have been more party loyalty or regularity in Indiana, a characteristic usually found increasing as one goes from north to south.

In Indiana it was the Whigs who had to shoulder the blame for the Internal Improvement failure, while in Michigan it seems to have been put on the Democrats. It is a very interesting book especially to a reader acquainted with politics in a neighbor State.

Ninth Annual Report of the Southeastern Hospital for the Insane for the year ending September 30, 1918.

This hospital, the last of its kind built by the State, was opened at Cragmont, near Madison, August 23, 1910, in one of the most beautiful situations in the State. There are six

main buildings and 1,158 acres of grounds. The institution cost over \$1,500,000 and can care for 1,100 inmates. The average enrollment for the year was 1,166, showing that the hospital is already crowded. This is the fifth Hospital for the Insane in the State. The problem thus presented to the State is serious. Dr. James W. Milligan is medical superintendent.

THROUGH the favor of Dr. E. V. Shockley the Survey has received an official account of the great Italian victory on the Piave in the closing days of October, 1918. Dr. Shockley has been with the Y. M. C. A. in Italy for over a year. Dr. J. S. Nollen, formerly of Indiana University, is general secretary for Italy.

THE *Journal of History* for January, 1919, is taken up by Official Statements of President Joseph Smith; by Herman C. Smith. This is largely documentary and for the history of the Mormons in Utah is a very valuable contribution.

The April, 1919, number contains a continuation of the Official Statements of President Smith. The January number also contains a biography of John Smith, first president of the Lamoni Stake or settlement in Iowa.

AMERICAN Anniversaries Every Day in the Year, Presenting Seven Hundred and Fifty Events in United States History from the Discovery of America to the Present Day. By Philip R. Dillon Publishing Company, New York. pp. 349, xv. \$2.50.

The title of this volume is a sufficient description. It is intended for and will be found very useful for teachers and editors who are interested in knowing of events which occurred on given days.

THE *North Carolina Manual*, 1919, for the use of members of the General Assembly of 1919, published by the State Historical Commission is the best thing of its kind that has come to the reviewer's notice. It is a small clothbound well-

printed volume of 459 pages giving a concise historical account of all the State governmental agencies and institutions; statistics of expense, votes, populations, products and values; biographies of State officers, and everything, it seems necessary for an intelligent understanding of the State and its activities as needed by the citizen and legislator.

THE *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for December, 1918, contains an article by St. George L. Sioussat on Tennessee, the Compromise of 1850 and the Nashville convention; also the concluding article by Albert V. Goodpasture on Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest.

THE *Minnesota History Bulletin* for November, 1918, is taken up with Dakota Portraits by Stephen R. Riggs. These were written by Reverend Riggs in 1858 and published in the *Minnesota Free Press* from January to July of that year. Riggs was a Presbyterian Missionary to the Sioux 1837-1842 and the portraits are of red men.

GEORGE R. WILSON has superintended the placing of a marker where the first white settler of Dubois county located. The spot is near the Sherritt graveyard. Boone township, where two Indian trails crossed, on the famous old Buffalo Trace near the Mudholes. The McDonald family cleared a small field here in 1801. It is to be regretted that there are not 91 other men—one for each county in Indiana—as well acquainted with, and as intelligently interested in Indiana pioneer history. Every act of this kind adds one more strand to the cord of tradition and sentiment which binds the Hoosiers together and to their native State.

THE *Pennsylvania Magazine of History of Biography*, October, 1918, contains an article by Charlamagne Tower on Joseph Bonaparte in Philadelphia and Bordentown, Selections from the Correspondence of Clement Biddle, and History of Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike by Charles I. Landis.

THE *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. VI, number 4, is the *Minutes of the Society* from 1886 to 1918.

The Society was reorganized at the former date under William H. English. This number completes volume VI. The other numbers are *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association*, *Journal of Thomas Dean*, and *Early Indian Trails and Surveys*. The bound volume can be had from the Bobbs-Merrill Co. of Indianapolis.

Washington University (St. Louis) *Studies* VI, No. 2, is taken up with an article by Chauncey Samuel Boucher on South Carolina on the eve of Secession, 1852-1860. The article is illustrated by maps.

PIONEER HANDICRAFT

The following personal letter and invitation from Mr. Hal. C. Phelps, president of the Miami County Historical Society, is hereby extended to the public: "When convenient stop at Peru and call at the Court House and see the collection of the hand de craft of the Pioneers of the County. The best collection in the country. Under the control of the Miami Co. His. Soc."

THE *Eighteenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry*. (for 1918) has just been distributed. This board was created by act of March 1, 1901. The State Park Commission, organized 1916, now works in coöperation with the Board. The recent General Assembly reorganized this department but fortunately Richard Lieber, State forester, and Charles C. Deam, acting State forester, are still in charge and their plans will be continued. The following quotation from the report will give a hint as to what they are doing:

"The Commission last year located an old and dilapidated log cabin some four miles northeast of the park. The poplar logs the smallest of which is 27 inches high, were so remarkable that the Commission decided to rebuild the cabin in the park. This was done in the spring. Doors and casings were made out of an old dead black walnut and the roof covered with clapboards made on the premises. A large 'cat

and clay' smoke stack completes the building, which we trust will serve as a reminder of the time when the State was young". Turkey Run was visited last year by more than 25,000 people.

STATE CHARITIES

The following statement shows what the State Board of Charities has done and hopes to do for the orphans of the State:

A HOME FOR EVERY HOMELESS CHILD

A Home for Every Homeless Child is the slogan for the various social agencies in Indiana which are making an effort to protect and conserve the childhood of the State. A Home for Every Homeless Child is the crying need of the children who, because of neglect, have become dependent and have been denied some of their natural birthrights.

There are being maintained in the orphans' homes of the State about 1,900 children for whom good family homes are desired. We believe that for every homeless child that is physically and mentally normal there is some good home ready and able to receive it and give to it the love, care and training of which it has been deprived through no fault of its own. Many of them are of the impressionable age—between 5 and 12 years old. They want homes. They want kind, sympathetic, patient foster fathers and mothers who will help them to grow into useful citizenship. The citizens of our State and the public officials can render a most useful service by helping secure homes for these unfortunate children.

Figures in the office of the Board of State Charities show that many thousand children have had advantage of foster homes in past years. About 3,200 of them are in family homes at the present time under supervision, while many others have been legally adopted. These children are having restored to them their right to normal life and training and in return are bringing happiness to many foster parents.

The 1,900 children, in orphans' homes are longing for a like opportunity. Will you help them? Will you take some boy or girl into your home and find other families who will take them? If you want to render a useful service to the children and to the State communicate with the board of children's guardians in your county, the orphans' homes or the Board of State Charities, Room 93, State House, Indianapolis, for desired information.

THE *Missouri Historical Review* for April, 1919, has an article on Missouri capitals and capitols by Jonas Vilas; Gottfried Duden's Report, 1824-1827, translated by William

G. Bek; and Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War by Rollin J. Britton.

THE *Michigan History Magazine* for April, 1919, has an article by William L. Jenks on Legislation by Governor and Judges. The article deals with the origin and development by Congress of this policy as a form of territorial government. No account is given of the work of the governor and judges in Michigan or elsewhere.

THE *Survey* is in receipt of a small pamphlet from Miss L. Freeman Clarke on *William Hull and the Surrender of Detroit*. The article is reprinted from the *Memorial and Biographical Sketches of James Freeman Clarke* together with some letters from General Hull's Military Record.

IN the *Historical Outlook* for April is an article by Samuel B. Harding on What the War Should Do For Our History Methods. Dr. Harding is chairman of a Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association on the teaching of History and Education for Citizenship. Dr. Harding very properly warns teachers against being swept from their feet by the present demand for history of the immediate present. Not only the war just ended but all other events of like magnitude have their beginning and development deep in the history of the past. The citizen unacquainted with the past unless inspired is about as capable as the traditional blind pilot.

THE *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April, 1919, is taken up by two articles, one by Clarence Ray Aurner on Historical Survey of Civil Instruction and Training for Citizenship in Iowa, the other on the President of the Senate in Iowa by Cyril B. Upham.

A HISTORY OF INDIANA FROM ITS EXPLORATION TO 1918

In two volumes, 1,120 pages.

BY

LOGAN ESAREY, Ph. D.

Assistant Professor in Western History in Indiana University

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No. 3

SPENCER RECORDS

Pioneer Experiences in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, 1766-1836

A MEMOIR¹

First I wish to give a brief account of my father, Josiah Records, as an introduction to my own. Josiah Records, son of John Records and Ann Calaway, his wife, was born May 1, O.S. 1741, in Sussex county, state of Delaware.

He served seven years in the Revolutionary war with England, driving a wagon most of the time. In 1765, my father with his family, mother, sister and two brothes-in-law, Joseph Inatmas Finch, and others, embarked on board a sloop in the Nantucket river, descended to its mouth in the Chesapeake bay, thence to the mouth of the Potomac river and then ascended the river to Georgetown, landed, proceeded to Antietam creek, Hagerstown, Maryland.

In the spring of 1766, my father in company with two brothers-in-law crossed the Alleghany mountains and took up land near Fort Laurel hill, Dunbar creek, so called in honor of Dunbar who camped on said creek in the rear of Braddock's army, was mortally wounded and taken to camp, where he died and was buried. This country was known at that time as the Red Stone country, on account of the Red Stone creek

¹ This manuscript, written before October 8, 1842, was presented to me during the lifetime of Spencer Records, because I was his namesake.

Spencer Records Quick. Born July 26, 1828, in Bartholomew County, Indiana. 1864 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

Records 10

passing through it, and emptying into the Monongahala river, twelve miles northwest of where Uniontown now stands, near Bainsville. They followed the trail of Braddock's memorable march across to Fort Laurel hill, Pennsylvania, where they took up land.

After clearing ground and planting it in corn and tending it, they returned and in the fall moved their families over the mountains. My father hired Peter Meebut with his cart and three horses to move him, taking with him my uncle Johnathan's blacksmith tools with the exception of the anvil which was too heavy to carry. They traveled over Braddock's old road. At that time there were only about ten or twelve in the settlement, a few along the road and the Youghogania river,² some about Red Stone Old Fort and a few near Fort Pitt. The emigration was lively and settlements were made at a considerable distance apart in different directions.

Perhaps it might not be out of place to speak of the life of the early settlers of the Red Stone settlement. Transportation across the mountains was altogether on horse-back. They could carry little more than their clothing, beds and cooking utensils. Deer, bear and turkeys were abundant so they were well supplied with meat. The bread meal was made by pounding corn in a hollow made in the end of a block of wood, called a hominy block. This block was set upright, corn put in the depression, and pounded with an iron until it was converted into meal. They had no flour. There were no stores west of the Laurel hills and such things as were needed had to be brought over on the pack horse from Hagerstown which was about one hundred and thirty miles away. Some enterprising people made a business of collecting the skins of wild animals, bear, deer and other fur-bearing animals, and also collecting ginseng. They carried them to Hagerstown to barter for goods. My father was an expert hunter and killed many deer and bear so made a trip every winter after the hunting season was over and brought back such articles as we were in need of. It appears to me that the people lived happier and had more real enjoyment then, than they do at the present time, (1842) with their luxuries,

² The spelling in the manuscript has been preserved throughout this paper.—
ED.

fine dress, pride, vanity, pomp and show. That is the way I see it now at the advanced age of eighty years.

About the year 1768 Philip Short erected a tub-wheel grist-mill on Dunbar creek. My father did the mill-wright work and my uncle Inatmas the blacksmith work. It was built on a small scale and very imperfect on account of the lack of tools and iron. An ax was driven into a stump and the poll used for the anvil. The mill when complete had a capacity of fifteen bushels of corn per day, which was amply sufficient to make meal for the entire neighborhood and was considered quite an improvement, being the first mill west of the Laurel hills.

Soon after this, one Henry Beason built a mill on Red Stone creek and laid out a town calling it Redstone, now Uniontown, capital of Fayette county, Pennsylvania.

The year 1772 marked the end of six years of happy life. Father sold his plantation and purchased land about fourteen miles from Fort Pitt on the north bank of Red Stone Run. In 1774 the Indians broke out but on this occasion the whites were the aggressors. This outbreak was caused chiefly by the murder of Bald Eagle, a Delaware chief, by some villain on the Ohio river. The Indian was in his canoe when shot. Logan Mingo, a celebrated chief, was also murdered with the rest of his family by Michael Cresap.³ When the hostilities began we were compelled to fortify ourselves. Governor Dunmore of Virginia marched an army into the Indian country and as the Indians had not done much mischief the army soon returned after patching up a kind of a peace treaty which was of short duration.

During the interval of peace in 1776 my father built a mill on Raccoon creek on land he had previously purchased, ten miles northwest from home. He hired Isaac Felta to keep the mill until the spring of 1777 when he moved there himself. The Indians renewed hostilities in the spring. There were a few families fortified at the mill. The Indians fired on John Stallian shooting him in the arm and killing his mare. The mare ran to Dalous fort, about a mile, and then

³ Logan was not killed, though his family was, nor did Cresap commit the murders, though it was commonly believed on the frontier that he did.—Ed.

fell dead. This was all the mischief done near us but in other places the people fared worse.

In the fall of 1777 my father returned home and as the Indians lived some little distance away and the winter was severely cold they did not trouble us much during that season and we all stayed at home in safety. But in the spring of 1778 we were at McDonnal fort and father had obtained a guard of men to be stationed at his mill. The men went in companies to get their grinding done. When winter set in the guard left the mill but the miller stayed until March first.

In the year 1778, General McIntosh took an army into the Indian country, and built a fort just below the mouth of the Big Bear creek, twenty miles below Pitt's fort, and called it Fort McIntosh where now stands the town of Beaver. The same winter father received public money with which to purchase grain to be ground in his mill for the use of the army.

A great many cattle were taken over the Ohio river and left to shift for themselves, get a living if they could. The snow lay on the ground all winter and they perished, were skinned and their hides were taken to the mill in the spring.

The army disbanded in the spring without pushing any farther into the Indian country. There was a blockhouse half way between Pitt's fort and Fort McIntosh where men were stationed in time of war.

As I have mentioned forts and fortifying I will give a brief description of a fort together with a draft of one. First the timber and brush were cleared off until a space sufficiently large was made and then a trench three feet deep was dug all around an oblong square. The fort log was cut about twelve or fifteen inches in diameter and fifteen feet long. These logs were split into halves the top end sharpened and the large end set in the ditch, flat side in. The cracks were stopped up with pieces set in. The dirt was then filled and well packed. Port holes were cut high enough up so that balls fired from outside would pass over the head. The cabins were built leaving plenty of room between them and the stockade to load and shoot. Two stations were built at opposite corners with port holes about eighteen inches from the ground. In case the Indians came near the fort the inmates could rake the sides, that is, shoot them. One station guarded one side and

one end. Two gates about four by five feet which were very strong and barred so that they could not possibly be forced open, were placed at opposite sides. Some forts, called station houses, were built by raising two cabins adjoining each other about eight feet high then a roof of split logs put on, the roof log extending two feet over. Then logs are built up sufficiently high to allow plenty of room to load and fire. Port holes were left to shoot out as well as down. The use of the projection was to prevent the Indians from climbing up and getting or shooting the inmates. Such a one was Bryant's Station.

Sometime after Braddock's defeat the Indians were committing their cruel depredations on the frontier settlements of Virginia. Two sisters by the name of Bancott aged six and eleven years respectively were captured and carried away by them. The older one soon became reconciled to live with the Indians and some time after married one of them. The younger one although only six years old never became reconciled and never forgot her white relations, her name, nor the name of the place where she was captured and thought that if an opportunity was offered she would try to make her escape to Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, where the Indians resorted to trade. She had no good opportunity since they never took her near there and remained until one morning it was impressed upon her to leave them and she saw that she might slip off unobserved.

Putting her blanket over her head she started away in the direction she had seen the Indians go when they started to Pitt's Fort. She traveled all day and at night she looked for a small tree that had a fork and limbs so that she could arrange a seat for herself and in case she fell asleep she would not fall to the ground, being afraid of the wolves. She did not find a place to suit her purpose until it began to get dark then she saw a light ahead of her and on approaching near, found an old Indian and his squaw that were on their way to Fort Pitt. They received her kindly and conducted her to Fort Pitt, supplying her with the necessary provisions. She was then near her own people. The people of the fort dressed her like her own people, as she had been dressed in Indian attire; blanket, breech clout, leggins, moccasins; and

conducted her to her own home. Soon after her arrival she gave a Christian experience and was received and baptised, soon after marrying Thomas Simmons and lived a near neighbor to my father, about fourteen miles from Fort Pitt.

In the year 1774 General Dunmore of Virginia marched an army into the Indian country and held a treaty with them. They promised to bring in all the prisoners they had and deliver them at Fort Pitt. Among them they brought Susan Simmon's sister, the older of the two sisters who were captured. Her sister went to see her and took her home with her. She stayed only a few days, not being satisfied. She could not become reconciled to civilization so they took her back to Fort Pitt and she went off with the Indians.

This remark will probably not be received by many but I will make it, be the result what it may.

Although the Lord permitted the younger one who came back and gave a christian experience and was baptized, to be captured, it was not his will that she should become reconciled to stay with them. But the older sister who could not endure civilization must have been of the Non Elect.

In 1779 my father was elected captain of a company of soldiers and received his commission from the governor of Virginia who claimed jurisdiction over all of Pennsylvania west of Laurel hills, which claim he held until the spring of 1782.

In March 1779, the Indians fell upon a company of sugar makers, killing five young men and taking five others together with a boy, prisoners. This took place on Raccoon creek, two miles below father's mill. My cousin Joshua Finch and I

NOTE: Memoranda taken at D.A.R. Colonial Memorial Hall Library, Washington, District of Columbia, June, 1914. Dr. C. H. Long "Book Annals of Carnegia Museum."

March 26, 1778—Minutes of Court of Yohogania County, Page 139 (81) "order that John Minton, Malrin Evans, Nathan Ellis, Edward Kemp, Josiah Records and James Scott, be recommended to his Excellency The Governor as proper persons to serve as Captains of Militia."

Page 140: "Josiah Records produced a Commission from his Excellency The Governor, appointing him Captain of the Militia, which was read and sworn to accordingly." The minutes of this Court (Yohogania County) printed with an introductory sketch. Vol. 1, pages 505, 586 of those annals are preserved in several manuscripts—volumes of unruled paper legal cap size.

were at the mill at the time of the murder. We had been sent there on an errand and were delayed on account of the rise of the creek. The Indians had discovered the camp and hid in the ambush over night and fell upon them at day break with their tomahawks. This was known since they were found all around in the camp except the body of one boy who had tried to escape and was struck by a tomahawk when about fifty feet away from the camp. They were all scalped. Two were named Devers, two were Turners, one a Fuller. One boy lay in the camp with his shoes on slip shod, he was stabbed in the left side and was lying on the other side with his fingers in or near the wound.

The water fell and we started home the morning of the massacre. A man came from a camp about a mile below to borrow a gimlet and found the men killed and the women and boy gone. He gave the alarm to their friends at the settlement ten miles away. The next day we went and buried the dead. Ephram Ralph, father's cousin, who was a lieutenant in the United States service, Captain Lowrey's company, was at home on a furlough at the time and went with us. A grave was dug but the men were backward about putting the bodies into it. Lowrey told them not to be backward for they did not know how soon they might be in the same situation themselves, so setting the example they were soon all laid in one grave and we returned home. These were the first persons that I had seen massacred by the Indians and it was a horrible sight to me, being worse because some of them had been my school mates recently and the grief and lamentations of poor old William Turner who lost his two boys, George and William. That day they captured his beautiful daughter Betsey, not knowing what she might have to suffer at their hands. This grief cannot be described by the pen.

In 1782 as Captain Lowrey was decending the Ohio river in a boat with his company in order to join General Clark, he landed at the mouth of a creek below the mouth of the Big Miami and was attacked and defeated by the Indians. Lowrey and Ralph were both killed.

In the spring of this year, some forted and others lived four or five families together. Four families lived with father. About the first of August, Alexander McCandles, who lived

about a mile and a half from father, had occasion to go for Mrs. Meek, who was about fifty years old, to attend his sick wife. After she stayed the required length of time they set out for her home, six miles distant. When they were about one mile from her home they were fired upon by the Indians in the ambush. Five or six of them lay behind a log about twenty yards from the path. The shots pierced both their horses. McCandles turned around and took the path for home and was soon out of danger. They sprang toward the old lady, one of them throwing his tomahawk and stuck it in a tree near her head. She stuck to her saddle and the horse soon carried her home.

A few days later Alexander McNealey and brother, both bachelors who had forted at Robert Lowrey's, started home by themselves. Their dog began to bark, alarming them and they returned to the settlement and secured six men to accompany them leaving James who was about sixty years old, there. The Indians seeing the men go away followed them and waylaid them on their return. They killed McNealey and four others. One made his escape by running and was not killed but in trying to jump over a muddy stream was captured on account of falling. Shortly after that two men who lived at father's started out in the evening to hunt, taking a path that led to a deserted plantation. They had not proceeded more than a mile when they were fired upon by the Indians and both killed. Father hearing both guns fired, became alarmed and in company with others started on the run to look for them and found them both shot and scalped. Their names were Collins and Reardon. The settlers all forted or abandoned their homes. Father moved eight miles away. When winter set in they returned home. After the death of McNealey, his brother James who was his only heir went on his plantation and lived alone. One cold morning when the snow was very deep, one of the neighbors went to his house to borrow a bag. He knocked and called at the door but received no answer, pushed open the door and went in and found the old man lying dead with his feet in the fire, badly burned. How long he had been there no one could tell.

In those days it came to pass that the devil entered into one Colonel Williamson who lived about fifteen miles west of us

and stirred him up to raise a company of men to go against a town of friendly Indians, chiefly of the Delaware tribe and professing the Moravian religion. They had taken no part with the hostile Indians. They lived on one of the tributaries of the Muskingum river. Williamson having raised his army, crossed the Ohio river and reached the town and as the Indians were friendly they anticipated no danger and did not take up arms against him. He told them he had come to take them across the river since he was apprehensive that hostile Indians were staying there. The Indians agreed to this and that night the women were busily engaged in preparing meat and bread sufficient for their young. In the morning Williamson, having them under his control, ordered them all into two houses; the men in one and the women and children in the other. He then ordered his men to go on to them with their tomahawks. To this some objected and called on God to witness that they were innocent people. However he found enough ready and willing to accomplish his designs and they went in upon them with their tomahawks. Then the butchery began, two young men sat down and began to sing a hymn and continued to sing while they were all being murdered. They were all murdered without distinction of sex or age. Such a piece of butchery the Indians were never guilty of. It was disgraceful to any people professing the Christian religion. I do not remember the number slain. He then returned home in triumph. I never heard any one mention this circumstance without expressing his abhorrence of the affair, except one poor old Scotchman, James Greenlee. He said they did right but he did not receive any sanction of his approval from his neighbors.

(1779) Although my father's mill was deserted and the nearest fort was five miles away, the Indians did not burn it down. The people went there in companies to get their grinding done. Father did the grinding and notwithstanding the fact that the people went into fort or moved away, they all raised a sufficient amount of corn for their subsistence. They collected in companies and went from farm to farm and while a part of them did the ploughing and hoeing, the others stood guard and prevented a surprise from the Indians.

(1780) In the spring of 1780, father moved fifteen miles

away and it was during the following summer that Colonel Crawford's unfortunate expedition took place. In this expedition, one of my uncles that married father's sister Susannah, who was a lieutenant in Capt. David Andre's company, was slain together with his captain and many others of my acquaintance.

(1781) In the spring of 1781 my father moved ten miles away. The Indians were quiet that summer in our neighborhood. Soon after this father sold his mill stones, irons and bolting cloths to Joseph Gemmel who was erecting a mill on Ghaston creek. He sold his land on Raccoon creek to James Crawford Tucker after forting and moving for five years.

1782) In 1782, father moved 20 miles away and bought a plantation of W. Fry on Peter's creek and took final leave of his plantation on Raccoon creek. All forted or moved away except one man named Clark who lived one mile east of father. One day during the summer I was sent back home on an errand in company with John Woods. We had to pass Clark's house on the way. As we came near to the house we saw blood in the yard and, seeing no one, we opened the door and went inside. We were horrified at the sight of seeing him and three of his little children (ages 3, 5, and 7) lying there dead, tomahawked and scalped. One of them was not quite dead yet and lay there groaning. The woman with a young child and a boy eleven years old were taken. One little girl about nine years old was at the spring and saw them and hid in the weeds until she thought they were gone, then she ran to Turner's fort about three miles away and gave the alarm. The men at the fort pursued the savages. After following them about five miles, they found the little babe, wrapped in its mother's apron, dead, having been tomahawked and scalped. Its mother was not able to carry it and keep up with the Indians. Perhaps she thought the apron would frighten the wolves and prevent their devouring the child and that the people at the fort would pursue the Indians and on finding the child, carry it to the fort and bury it. Such was the case.

They pursued the Indians until they lost all hope of overtaking them and rescuing the prisoners, so they returned home. The mother afterward escaped and came home through the wilderness. At this outbreak there were 17 killed and

nine taken prisoners from our neighborhood. During the War of the Revolution, the British had taken the Indians for their allies, paying them for scalps of men, women and children. That was the cause of the murder of more children than would have been committed otherwise. The incidents that I relate are those that were committed in our own neighborhood only, but the settlement west of us and east of the Monongahala suffered severely. I cannot give an account of these at present.

In 1783, father bought land of John Kiser, which lay in Kentucky. Kiser was to leave in the fall. Father and uncle Finch built a boat for my two cousins and myself to descend the river to the land purchased, to carry the horses and cattle and raise a crop, as they contemplated moving the following fall.

LIFE IN KENTUCKY

I now begin to relate incidents concerning my own career, leaving my father for the present. We embarked November 20, 1783, on the Monongahala river and went down it to the Ohio and down it to the mouth of Limestone creek, Kentucky.

We had on board four horses and some cattle. We found no settlement and searched for a road and failed to find one. There was a buffalo road, however, that crossed Limestone creek a few miles above and passed my lick on to the Louis Blaine lick and then on to Licking river, then on to Bryant's station, but we knew nothing of it at that time, so we descended the Ohio river to the mouth of the Licking, landing November 29, 1783. We set off up the Licking river after having to get out and push and pull our boat over the shoals. After working hard for four days and making little headway we landed our boat and hid our property in the woods. The property consisted of whiskey and farming implements. We then descended the Licking river to the Ohio river which by this time had taken a rapid rise, and had backed the water up the Licking so that we took Kisers' boat as far as we had taken our property and unloaded it. We left on the bank of the Licking river a new wagon, perhaps the first one in Kentucky. Leaving our property in care of Kiser, we then packed up and set off up the Licking river, but made poor

headway after several days' travel. Snow began to fall and as there was no cane in this part of the country for our cattle and horses to subsist upon, we set out in search of some. Kiser sent us in care of Hugh Fry who had come down the river with cattle for his father.

When we came to the fork of the Licking we found a wagon road leading up the south fork, cut out by Cale Bird, a British officer, who had ascended the Licking river in his boats with Canadians and Indians. They were several days cutting the road which led to Riddle's Fort which stood on the east bank of the Licking river three miles below the junction of the Hensons and Stone fork.

The people at the fort were not aware that the British were approaching until they were upon them and they were ordered to surrender. This they refused to do and they were attacked and were unable to cope with the British and were compelled to surrender their stockade. They then proceeded six miles further up the river to Martin's fort on Stone river and succeeded in capturing them.

We followed the road in the snow, it was by this time half knee deep. Early in the morning, when about three miles from Riddle's fort we came upon three families who were camping. They had landed at Limestone but finding no road, they had wandered through woods until they came to the road which they followed. The night before we came to them Mrs. Downey was brought to bed. They were poor and had not so much as a spare blanket to spread over her, but set forks in the ground, poles on the forks and bushes over for a kind of shelter. She had no necessities of any kind, not even bread, only venison and turkey. They went to the same station we did. She had several children, one a young lady. She said she had never done better at such a time in her life. So we see that the Lord is good and merciful and worthy of praise from all beings, by fitting the back to suit the burden. I have mentioned this circumstance for the encouragement of others. We should at all times of trial or difficulty put our trust in the Lord who is alone able to save all that trust in Him. The names of these people were Reves, Demit and Downey.

We went to the fort, where we found plenty of company. The next morning, John Finch and I started out to find Lex-

ington and left the horses in the care of Josiah Finch and Henry Fry, with orders that if the snow went off or rain fell, to take them over the river. As there was no road to follow, we took up Mill creek and near the head of it, we met some hunters who had been on the south side of the Kentucky river. They gave us direction to find a hunting trace that led to Bryant's station and gave each of us a wheat cake. The flour had been ground on a hand mill and sifted, and I was not well and had not seen bread for three months, I thought it was the best bread I had ever tasted.

We went to Bryant's station and the next day we went to McConnel's station. One mile north of Lexington where there was a mill, we got the meal we had promised Kiser and the next morning we set off and it rained almost all day. About sunset, we came to the river which was very high. We expected to find the boys on our side of the river but they had not crossed it yet, according to our strict orders. We knew of no better way to retaliate on them than to bake a Johnny cake, walk to the river and hold it up for them to see. We did so, they saw it but did not taste it. By this time the rain was over but we were cold and wet and as it got colder, we made a fire and camped there that night.

Early the next morning we set off down the river and camped that night on the bank of Licking river. It was very cold and we suffered severely. The next evening at dark, we arrived at Kiser's camp. The next evening we set off on our return. When we reached Ridle's Station the river had fallen so much that we could easily ford it. We then started for McConnel's station and arrived there the last of December.

Some time in January four of us set out to hunt for buffalo on the river. The buffalo had all gone off and we were obliged to pursue them twenty miles before overtaking them. The second night it snowed and turned very cold. In the morning the snow was so deep we could not trace our horses. We hunted for them, but did not succeed in finding them. So we hung up our saddles and started for home on foot, supposing that our horses had gone in that direction. It snowed all day and at night we came to Elk Horn creek. The snow was about knee deep. We waded the creek which was about the same depth and soon found ourselves in a large cane brake

where we could get no wood to make a fire. The cane was all bending with the snow and no broken wood was to be found. At last we found one old dry hickory stump about fifteen feet high. We pushed it down. It was dry and rotten. We put fire to it and soon had a good fire. This was all the fire we had that night. We scraped the snow away and lay by it, but we could not dry our leggins by it. The next morning we went on four miles farther to Bryant's Station and when we arrived our leggins and moccasins were frozen and our feet also were frozen. Shortly after we arrived, our horses were found by hunters and were brought in. This snow was not all off until the 10th of March, 1784, and then went off with a rain. This was a severe winter, my horses except one and all my cattle strayed off so I could not find them. John Finch and I started to look after our property on the Licking and found all safe. Had some trouble on account of high water and was gone ten days.

In the course of the spring, people began to settle in the neighborhood of Lexington. Colonel Gerrard settled a station on the same river. He was a cousin of the lamented and much loved Gen. William Henry Harrison. Benjamin Harrison settled near Lexington this spring. Mr. McClelland settled a station at Kinkson and Stone Fork. Simon Kenton settled a station one mile north of where the town of Washington now stands, the capitol of Mason county, Kentucky. A block and warehouse were built at Limestone which caused the emigration down the river that spring. Father's land lay remote from any settlement. Times being hard we did not sell it but took a lease of Mr. McConnel and put up a cabin and two of us lived together. Henry Fry, two cousins and myself lived near each other. We had to depend on hunting for meat and the buffalo had retreated so far away that we could get only deer and turkey to supply us.

In the spring we were attacked with fever; was quite sick but got better, when I heard of my horses at Harrison's station. I went after them and on my return was in the rain almost all day which caused a relapse which was worse than the former attack. This put me back with my work so that I only got four acres planted in corn that spring. Range was good and cane plenty and I raised sufficient corn for my own

use and to supply my father until he could raise corn of his own. This spring Uncle Finch came down the Ohio and went in the cabin with us. I heard of my mare about 15 miles west of Lexington near a great buffalo road that came south from the northwest out of the knobs and led to the Blue Lick, crossing north Elk Horn at a point called the great crossing, which name it still bears. My two-year-old colt was found near the Big Bear and brought in so I had all my horses. In the course of the season I made two trips to Lime Stone packing rum and iron for a Lexington merchant, Thomas James. I also built a good cabin for father and in the fall gathered my corn, also a small works was constructed to make salt at the Blue Lick on the west side of the river, (a salt spring.) This was most convenient to Lime Stone although the main spring was on the other side of the river. Some time this summer a family landed at Lime Stone that had the Small Pox, and went on to Blue Lick but were not permitted to enter the fort but camped on the opposite side of the river. The Indians fell on them in the night and murdered the whole lot of them.

I started in search of my cattle accompanied by Alexander McConnel. We took a N.E. course to the ford of Licking river. We then went north and hunted some days; then returned and went into camp not far from the main Licking river, thinking that we would go to the north of Lexington early the next morning. Before we came to the Licking, we killed a large buck elk. We skinned him and hung up the skin. We took some of the meat. We went on to the river and crossed it and soon found the fresh track of an Indian which we followed for several miles. That evening a heavy rain wet our guns and rendered them useless to us. About sunset we came to Kiser's camp and camped for the night. The Indians had cut his wagon some and destroyed one of the kettles. As our guns were wet and out of order we let them remain so, and I now believe it was providential. If we had put them in order that night, which could have been done by picking powder into the touch hole and firing them off (flint locks), the Indians would have heard us and would have come in search of us and found us by our fire. The next morning they were camped not more than a mile distant, but we knew nothing of them nor they of us. At another time we traveled

all day in the rain and about sunset, we were going along the banks of a small stream, when we saw a number of Indians on the opposite side of the stream. Our powder was wet and no doubt theirs was not dry, consequently, neither party was prepared to open fire, so we passed quietly up and the Indians down the stream. Presently an Indian broke the silence, saying, "Say, white man, have you been to steal a hoss?" We made no reply and were soon out of sight and no doubt both were glad of it. When morning came, we thought we would get our horses and put our guns in order.

Soon after we separated, we heard the report of twelve or fifteen guns. When we met, neither of us had found our horses. "Did you hear the guns?" I said, "Yes, I did. Its Indians." "I knew it," he answered. "They have probably found our camp and are waiting for our return." I thought that as the woods was open, if they were on this side of the river we could see them. I suggested that we had better run to the river bank. Should they be there and not shoot us, we could then try to get to our camp. We went to the river bank but did not see them so returned to our camp and took our saddles, blankets and guns and carried them out of sight of the camp and soon found our horses, saddled and mounted them. McConnel asked if I could find the way without keeping in the road and I answered in the affirmative. He said, "Then go ahead and make the best of your way for if the Indians find our camp they will follow us faster than we can ride, and as our guns are out of order we can't defend ourselves and might be killed."

At this time the ground was covered with a thick growth of weeds and pea vines which made it much to our disadvantage and would be also to their disadvantage if pursuing us. Leaving this place, we struck no road for miles. We came to a creek that we could not ford, being much swollen on account of last night's rain. However, by riding up the stream a short distance we came to where two forks met. We started up the left hand fork and forded and soon after crossing we came upon the trail of a large herd of buffalo that had been feeding. We followed this trail some distance so that if the Indians were following us, we would leave the

impression with them that we were hunting, and try to break them off of our trail.

About sunset we came to the place where we had killed the elk. McConnel said that if I would make a fire, he would go back a half mile or so and watch our trail to see that no Indian was following after us. He did so and came back after dark and reported that no Indian was to be seen. We then took our horses to where the grass was good and shackled them and lay down to rest. Soon a heavy shower of rain fell and we were obliged to seek shelter under the elk hide. After the rain we rekindled the fire which was almost rained out. We gathered brush and sticks to lie upon until morning came. We then put our guns in order and felt secure as the Indians could not follow us on account of the heavy rain fall. About ten A.M. we started for home and arrived there in the evening of the tenth day, after we left it.

The last of this month, four of us started to hunt a small stream called Dry run, about 16 miles north of Lexington. When there we killed the largest buffalo I ever saw. He was fat and good beef. This was at the time of the year called bellowing time, when the buffalo were wandering around and bellowing and were more easily found and killed. The calves are all dropped in the spring time and when young resemble our common red calf and might easily be mistaken for one. We skinned the bull; cut the meat into thin wide strips and laid it on the hide and salted it. After it took salt, we set forks in the ground beside our fire, then laid poles on the forks, sticks across the poles, and then laid the meat on these sticks and over the fire and allowed it to remain until about half done and then turned it over and allowed it to remain until morning when it was about half cooked and half dried, then we put it in bags and sent it home for the use of the families.

When we lay down to sleep, we took our saddles, blankets and guns and lay down in the darkest place we could find, not near the fire, for fear the Indians would come to us. At one time we were suspicious that the Indians were following us. A scout had been detailed to look for them and had seen them in camp. When we lay down, we each wrapped a blanket around a chunk or small log and placed them around the

fire, so that they looked just like a lot of men lying with their feet to the fire. After all was ready, we retired a little way off, awaiting the attack, feeling sure they would come, and they did come. Stepping up in gun shot distance, they all fired at the same time at the objects around the fire, supposing them to be men. They then rushed up with their knives and tomahawks intending to kill all that were not shot. The whites opened fire on them and but one or two made their escape. This was a decoy not often played on the Indians.

I will relate a dream. Some may think it superstitious but I believe it was the means of saving our lives. March 10, 1790, brother Laban and I started to hunt. We hunted all day, and at night we went into camp near the head of a small run. After supper, we lay down with our clothes on, except our moccasins. We had our guns and shot pouches at our sides. My dog lay at my head; our horses were about two hundred yards away and shackled so that if we were to be surprised by the Indians and not killed, we could get them. We lay down and slept. During the latter part of the night I dreamed that brother Laban and I had gone hunting, (just as we had really done) had gone into camp, and that the dog at my head looked down the stream and growled. I awoke and thought it only a dream. I went to sleep again and dreamed the same thing; when I awoke, my dog looked down the stream and growled. I became alarmed and woke brother Laban and told him that I suspected that the Indians were near and told him to lie still until I put on my moccasins. Then I lay down and he raised up and did the same. We thought that if we both got up at once, that if the Indians were in sight, they might rush upon us and kill us. Both being now ready, we sprang up at once and taking our blankets and saddles we retired near where our horses were and awaited day break, which was the Indians favorite time to make attacks. We saddled our horses and were off quietly as possible. We hunted that day and went home that night. I believed then and still believe that the Indians were creeping upon us.

March 10, 1790. Indians were on the Ohio near the north of the Scioto with two persons. John May was ascending the Ohio with three men in a boat. One was Flinn, but I have

forgotten the other man's name. As they came opposite the Indians, they compelled the persons to go to the bank and raise a lamentable cry, begging these men to take them on board, saying they had been taken prisoners but had escaped. John May and his companions were fearful it was a deception and made no attempt to land. The men on the bank still continued to follow after them, and finally they were over persuaded and landed and as soon as the boat touched the land, the Indians fired on them and killed John May and one of the women in his party. The rest were taken prisoners before they had left the boat.

Thomas Marshall of Virginia and some other gentlemen were descending the Ohio with their boats, poorly manned, and loaded with horses and store goods. The Indians sprang into the boat already captured and compelled the prisoners to help them. The other being poorly manned, the Indians soon came up to them and opened a heavy fire on them. Marshall soon saw that he was not able to cope with the Indians by fighting or running. Finally they all boarded one boat and abandoned the other two. The one now being well manned, shot past the Indians and was out of danger. The Indians soon gave up the chase. Before the Indians could land the boats captured, they were below the mouth of the Scioto.

The alarm was soon given out that the Indians had captured two boats and \$2,000 worth of store goods and 28 head of horses. Whereupon I received orders to raise all the men I could and if the men could not be raised to draft one third of my company and report at Lime Stone that evening with six days' rations. I raised all I could without drafting and marched to Lime Stone that evening and met about one hundred more. We crossed the Ohio that same evening and went into camp and the next morning were paraded by a brave fellow, whose name I shall withhold. We were placed in two ranks, Indian file, with orders to march about twenty yards apart. With Captain Kenton at the head of one line, and myself at the head of the other, while he, the commanding officer, rode about on a fine charger with Dr. Johnson as sergeant in case he was needed, and brother Laban Records as pilot, knowing him to be a number one woodsman. A pilot

was useless as we were to march up the Ohio river but he had use for one.

We marched on in good order for some time until we came upon fresh signs of Indians, when our commander became alarmed and told his pilot to let us quit the river and take to the hills. He accordingly steered a northeast course into the hills and knobs. At length we came to a creek and there saw more plainly than before fresh signs of Indians. Upon seeing these fresh signs, he became most powerfully alarmed and said to his pilot, "For God's sake, Records, make for the river." So he steered south to a creek and followed it to the Scioto river. We found the two boats that had been abandoned by Marshall, and all the property except a still which had been taken by the Indians. A good many cakes of chocolate and a lot of papers of pins had been spoiled by the recent shower. We took charge of the boats and landed them safely at Lime Stone and congratulated ourselves on being commanded by such a brave, courageous and warlike officer. Had this expedition been properly conducted, we could have recovered the goods and probably captured or slain the Indians. Hard indeed is the heart that cannot feel for cowards when in distress, who will not drop a tear of sympathy for them and pray they may find rest.

MARRIED LIFE

April 15, 1791, I was married to Elizabeth Elrod, daughter of John and Mary Elrod of Virginia. I settled upon my own land six miles west of Washington, where I had previously built a log cabin 16' x 10' and had cleared some ground. At that time it was the frontier cabin on the west of the settlement and was described as follows after being raised the proper height for the story. A large log was put across the center and split logs were laid all over the top for a loft. Two of the split pieces were shorter, to make a hole to pass up through. The house was then built higher to make room above. The door was made of strong puncheons and pinned together with 2" pins and barred with a strong bar, so it could not possibly be forced from the outside.

Abraham Gardner took a lease of me and lived in the same cabin with me as they had no time to build a cabin. They were

both Dutchmen and not familiar with the use of firearms. I could not depend upon them in case of an attack from the Indians, only for a show and to shoot from the inside. This season brother Laban and my brother-in-law Harley were employed as scouts or spies on the Ohio river. In searching they found the bed on Scioto creek where twenty-two Indians had lain, waiting for deer and buffalo to come to the Lick to get salt that the spring was noted for.

Often the salt water oozed out of the ground and the deer licked the ground for the sake of the salt there. These places were called licks. They notified Colonel Ransome by a carrier.

Ransome notified me to draft ten men out of my company and report next morning at Falk's house, also for Captain John Kenton to raise fifteen men from his company. I reported the next morning with my ten men and found that only six men of Kenton's company had reported as yet. When we marched we had 19 men in line. We proceeded to the creek and discovered that a number of persons had gone down the creek. They had come up the south fork and had stolen 20 head of horses. We pursued them rapidly to the Ohio river. They had all crossed except four. At that place the creek was about twenty yards from the river. The space between the creek and the river for about 50 yards had grown up thick with tall grass. The water came to the bank. A thicket with willows grew along the bank. An Indian was standing sentinel near the bank. He saw us at the same time that we saw him. Some jumped down the bank after them, some ran up the bank, one jumped into the water. One jumped into the river and was fast getting away by swimming and diving. There were many shots fired at him but as he was most of the time under the water, to hit him was quite difficult. I took brother Laban's gun, picked the flint, primed it, and aimed at the edge of the water as he arose for breath. He quit coming to the surface and was soon out of sight and we do not know whether he was killed or whether he took a cramp in the water. Brother Laban saw one squatted in the grass and killed him. One of our company was walking along the bank and saw an Indian concealed and sprang upon him. The struggle was lively for a few seconds. Neither one was able to draw his knife out of its scabbard. One of our party saw

our comrade struggling with the Indian and ran to the spot with his knife in his hand and struck the Indian in the head with his knife and he fell over and soon expired. The man Fenton said the knife sank into the Indian's skull just the same as sticking it into a pumpkin. Two Indians ran into the willows and we were not able to find them, and they escaped. The Indian on the opposite side of the river hallooed and fired at us but to no purpose, being too far away; only one bullet reached the shore after striking the water and skipping a time or two. We scalped the ones killed and took the four head of horses that had not been taken over the river and returned home.

March, 1791. The Indians stole horses near Washington, Kentucky. Just before daybreak, the horses were missed and the alarm raised. The Indians were pursued. Snow soon began to fall and covered the ground. We followed so closely after them, they were obliged to leave the horses and run on foot to make their escape. John Gardner started out to hunt from my home and saw the track of one of them that had come near my place. On seeing my place he had turned to the left and kept out of sight. It is well for him that I did not see him for I would have gone out to meet him and give him a warm reception.

Some time in March, 1791, Captain Habble (William Hubbell) was descending the Ohio, below the mouth of the Scioto. He was attacked by a large party of Indians who came in their canoes and fired on his boat, wounding four or five men, and killing two by the name of Kirkpatrick and Tucker. The Indians soon left Tucker and turned their attention to Greathouse's boat which was in sight and as soon as the boat came near attacked it. It was poorly manned. They captured this boat without much resistance. The Indians took the boat to the shore, killed Greathouse and a man named Clark and took the balance prisoners; I do not remember just how many. I went to help bury the slain. On our way, we met a boy about 15 years old that had been captured and had escaped. He turned back and went with us. When we came to the boat, Black was in it tomahawked and scalped. The boy said, "There lies my poor old father." Greathouse lay upon the bank tomahawked and scalped. There was a large sack of

flour, some hogs and some other property in the boat not taken. After burying the dead, we took the boat down to Lime Stone station.

In the spring of 1792 brother Laban and I were engaged to view a road from opposite Cincinnati to Washington, Kentucky, and cut out a bridle path, for a sum of money which the citizens of Washington had made up. We agreed to do it. Forty miles of the distance was in unbroken forest and as it was in dangerous times, we took with us two armed men. While two worked, the other two carried the four guns and kept a sharp lookout all the while. We accomplished the job to their entire satisfaction, and received our pay for same. The road was afterwards cut out for a wagon road and was a very public road.

Sometime in the summer of 1792, the Indians were hunting opposite the mouth of Lost creek and their camp was about four miles from the Ohio river. After killing a number of deer, they needed horses to pack their skins away, and, no doubt, believed if they came into our neighborhood and stole horses they would be pursued and captured, as it was only twenty miles to the mouth of the Locust on the Ohio river.

About four miles south of us, the hills set in and it was a rough and unsettled part of the country to the mouth of the Locust, also up the road leading from Washington to Blue Lick. Now the Indians way laid this road to capture a team, hoping to hurry off and get across the Ohio before news could be carried to Washington and men raised to pursue them, and the men pursuing would have no way of crossing the Ohio river. They were about fourteen miles from Washington. They took the owner of the team prisoner and started for the Ohio river and crossed it after traveling about 25 miles over very rough country. The prisoner had a bottle of whiskey in his pocket. The Indians drank freely of it and became somewhat intoxicated. Owing to the roughness of the country and the dark night, the Indians did not make as good time as they hoped to. Being somewhat retarded in their trip to the Ohio river was of great advantage to their pursuers. Soon after he was taken prisoner a traveler came along on his way to Washington and saw the wagon in the road. He hurried

to Washington and carried the news to Colonel Rankin who lived in Washington. He sent an express to me to raise men and pursue them if I could possibly do so. Why did he not send orders to Captain Kenton who lived about two miles west of Washington or Captain Lee who lived about the same distance east of the city? Perhaps he thought they would be slow in raising men but knew I would attend to it promptly and raise men more readily on the frontier than in town, but the express did not arrive until after night. At day break, I ran to brother Laban's and John Hay and sent them after men, with orders to meet at father's as soon as possible. I went after other men. We soon met, ten of us, on the station of the Ohio about eight miles distant, where we knew an empty flat boat lay. We ran on double quick, boarded the boat; shoved off and double manned the oars and one took the steering oar. We pulled out into the middle of the river, pushed on with all our force and made good headway and kept to the middle of the river as long as we could and be sure not to pass the place where the Indians crossed. We then pulled to the northwest shore and watched the bank to see where they had landed the horses. We soon found it, tied our boat, took the trail and pursued on rapidly for about four miles, when we came to their camp but they were gone. They had separated into three companies. This made us uncertain as to which trail to follow. We wanted to follow the one that had the prisoner as we were more anxious to release him than to kill them. After deliberating we chose the middle trail and pursued them hastily for about two miles, when they divided into two companies again. We were again at a loss to determine which one to follow. We chose the right hand trail this time. The trail by this time had become small but we pursued on as long as we could see and went into camp. At the break of day we started on and soon heard them hallooing as is their custom when they leave their camp. This was a kind of song they sang on going to sleep and on leaving camp. We then felt certain of overtaking them and soon came to their camp which they had left, going a north course. We followed them about two miles in that direction, when we came to fallen timber. They turned short to the right to avoid it or to find a crossing through it. The woods for some dis-

tance had been bushy which had kept us from seeing them, but near the fallen timber the woods were open. When we came to the turn they had made, we discovered them. There were four of them with a horse loaded with skins. An Indian was riding, two walking behind him, the prisoner behind them, and an Indian brought up the rear. They had taken the prisoner's shirt off of him and gave him a calico shirt instead. He was bare-headed and had his own big coat wrapped up small and was carrying it on his back with his bottle in it; although the Indians had drunk all the whiskey, he was careful of his bottle. The instant they saw us, they became alarmed and started on the run. The one behind the prisoner jumped before him and ran toward the fallen timber. The prisoner followed them. John Hay fired at the Indian on the horse. He fell or jumped off and ran into the fallen timber and made his escape in the timber that was covered with a thick heavy coat of grass and pea vines. He left a first rate rifle gun, by which we knew that he was badly wounded, for an Indian will not part with his gun if able to carry it off. We supposed the prisoner was an Indian because he followed the Indians and also because he had on a calico shirt. Brother Laban fired at him but his gun made slow fire, which caused the ball to be deposited in the prisoner's big coat that he had turned under his arm. The ball cut sixteen holes in it and broke the bottle. Some one called out, "Shoot him", but another said, "Don't shoot him, let's take him a prisoner." On hearing this he knew we were Whites and turned toward us and said, "Oh! my wagon", which he supposed was the best countersign he knew of, as his life was in danger. So he was rescued from captivity. We asked him why he ran after the Indians and he said he thought that it was not possible that white men could get there so soon after the alarm was raised, the time being so short and that he supposed we were a party of Indians who were at war with the party who had captured him and thought best to stay with those he was with. We took the horse together with the pack of skins, and the gun, returned to the Ohio river, and recrossed in our boat. That night we camped on the knobs of Locust creek and the next day we arrived home. We gave the horse to his owner and

he went on his way rejoicing. The skins were our pay for the campaign, together with the rifle gun.

If when that young man was taken prisoner, the news had not been carried to Washington immediately, if I had not hurriedly raised men; if we had not marched rapidly; if we had not found the boat; if we had not taken the right trail each time, if my brother's gun had not made slow fire; and if there had not been a dispute in regard to shooting him or taking him prisoner or killing him; if we had all fired on him, he would surely have been killed. Some may think it was all accidental but I consider that with the Lord there is nothing accidental, for although the savages were permitted to take him prisoner, they were not permitted to kill him. So it was not possible that there were any "ifs" in this case.

The first of June, 1792, Kentucky became a state. First governor of Kentucky was Isaac Shelby. All commissions from the state of Virginia became null and void. In November I was elected captain of a company and received my commission from the state of Kentucky January 9, 1793. I accepted my office and was sworn in by John Wilson acting as justice of the peace.

Sometime in the summer, brother Laban and I were solicited to view and locate a road from Germantown on Licking river to the north of Bear creek to intercept a road from that place to Georgetown, Kentucky. We measured it and marked the mile trees and found it 19½ miles through an unbroken forest. We established it. It was cut out and ever since has been a public thoroughfare.

About this time, William McGinnis, living a half mile from Washington was shot dead by an Indian while standing in his yard between sunset and dark, but they did not return to scalp him. Sometime this fall Tobias and Henry Woods, Absalom Craig and others started on a hunting expedition on Locust creek. On their return they came to a fine spring that came out from under a bluff that was about 10 feet high. They camped and started out for an evening hunt. When they came in at night, one of the men said that Laban Records was in the woods, that he heard him laugh, but none of them knew of his being out. Tobias became alarmed, fearing that they were Indians. About two hours before day, he said he

would set out to hunt his horse. At daylight he found his horse and was in the act of mounting him. Henry went to the spring at this time, and an Indian fired on them.

The Indians had found their tracks and had followed them to their camp and lay behind a log in gun shot of the camp on the bluff in ambush. They killed Henry at the spring, and wounded Gary in the hip. Furgason made his escape and ran home. I raised five or six men and went with Furgason to the place. Woods lay at the spring shot and scalped. Craig likewise lay at the camp tomahawked and scalped. As Furgason saw him running about 50 yards from the camp, but being shot in the hip thought it was impossible for him to make his escape. We were sure that he had been overtaken and brought back to camp and slain. We saw where the Indians had lain behind the log and had left a deer skin. We cut a blue ash sapling, and split a cut of it and made shovels of it. We dug up the ground with our tomahawks, threw the earth out with these shovels, and in this way made graves. We placed the bodies of the slain in them, and placed a blanket over them and covered them up. These were the last persons slain by the Indians in our part of the country.

In 1795 peace was made with the Indians. I resigned my commission in August and started for Pennsylvania in company with brother Laban, William Blackmore and Daniel Finch. At the mouth of the Great Kanawa, we left our canoes and traveled on land to Bellville. The Ohio river is very crooked, making it 60 miles by water. We started through the woods directed by Mr. Lewis and arrived at Bellville that night, shortening the trip twenty or thirty miles. The next morning we started on the road for Clarksburg on the west fork of the Monongahala river. Clarksburg is the county seat of Montgomery county, Pennsylvania [now Harrison county, West Virginia,] eight miles below Morgantown on the east side where Cheat river empties into the Monongahala river. This river has its source in the Green Brier mountains and runs through Randolph and Pocahontas counties. We descended the river to Brownsville. We returned home down the Ohio in a boat in August.

I started for Pennsylvania again in company with Robert Elrod. We kept the Ohio by land and had some difficulty in

crossing creeks, having to go up the creeks to avoid the back water. I came near being drowned at the mouth of the Big Sandy. I tried to ford it at its mouth. The water was about three feet deep, but the depth of the quick sand we could not tell as we found no bottom. We could not get across and had much difficulty in getting back to the side from which we started. We went up the river about two miles and found a good ford with a rock bottom and we crossed in safety.

We arrived in Pennsylvania the last of the month. In October, Mr. Jones had a contract from the United States government to cut out a bridle path from Wheeling, Virginia, to Chillicothe. They were at work on it. We started on the path and came up with them. We were accompanied by two other men and we came upon the choppers about ten miles from Chillicothe. We then started through the woods to Chillicothe, then went home after an absence of sixty days. We were the first persons that traveled that road.

On June 24th I sold my plantation in Kentucky and my wife and I went to Pennsylvania. We traveled by land and on horse-back and arrived there September 1, 1800. Soon after our arrival, we both took sick with fever and ague. Both shook daily. Not being able to ride on horseback, we took passage home on a boat laden with apples and cider. The river was so low, we were sixty days on it, and each day we had a hard shake. When we landed, we were hardly able to ride home and had the ague about all winter. Had more than one hundred hard shakes before we missed one, and quite a good many after then and then some.

I moved to Ohio and settled in Ross county on the Sun Fish creek where I had previously bought and built a grist and saw mill, in 1803. I was, with two other men, appointed to view a road from New Market to the south Salt Works. Forty miles of this was through an unbroken forest and as the other two were not woodsmen, it became my duty to take the lead. We found a good way for a road which was afterwards cut out and became a public highway. In 1804, I was selected to be candidate for captain, to which I objected, and did not attend the election, but I was run and elected and received my commission from the governor of Ohio, which I returned to General Manson as I did not wish to serve. I bought land in

Adams county on Brush creek and in April settled on it and built a grist mill.

In 1821, I sold my possessions in Ohio and settled in Indiana, Bartholomew county, six miles north of Columbus, Indiana. We suffered much with sickness and lost four of our children. January 1833 was the last year I was able to farm my land and I rented it for three years. The rent was sufficient to keep us but neither of us was able to do the work required to be done. All of our children were married and had left us. They all with one accord advised us to break up housekeeping and live with some of them, the propriety of which I was inclined to doubt. The idea of disposing of one's home and making a home with others, oftentimes is not a real home but simply a stopping place. However in November, 1836, we broke up. We went to live with our son-in-law Tunis Quick and our daughter Susannah, with whom we still reside. We had twelve children, eight living at this time, and eighty-seven grand children. We continued to live with our son-in-law until 1848 when we went to Milton Nelson's home.

In April 1848, we went to live with Rachel and Milton Nelson. They had sold their farm at Mt. Auburn, Shelby county, intending to move to Iowa. His wife being so distressed at the thought of leaving all of her friends and relatives, parents included, began to pine away and friends expressed serious doubts whether she would be able to stand the trip which had to be made in a wagon. At that time the trip was generally made in about three weeks so owing to the urgent request of many friends they abandoned the trip to Iowa and bought a farm of Alexander Breeding about one and three-fourths miles southwest of Mt. Auburn in Shelby county, Indiana. Mr. Breeding moved to Iowa.

We in course of time had sold our farm and were depending upon the interest of the money to support us. The price we received for the land was one thousand dollars, this we turned over to M. J. Nelson and we went to make our home with him. They arranged a room for us with a fire place where we could sit and smoke our pipes to ourselves if we chose. They had a large family, mostly boys who used to often resort to our room and hear us tell of our adventures of early times.

My father departed this life on the first of June, 1809, and was buried in his own orchard in Ross county, Ohio. He was 68 years old. My mother departed this life at her daughter Mary's, 1824, and was buried by the side of my father. She was 81 years old. I was the oldest of twelve children—their names were Spencer, Nicy, Laban, Joseph, Ann, John, Elizabeth, Josiah, Sarah, Mary, Susannah and William, who have all departed this life except myself, John and William. I moved to Ross county, Ohio, in 1800.

Spencer Records, the narrator of this record, on account of hardships and trials partially lost his hearing and was bent the last twenty years of his life. He died at the age of 88 without illness. He rode on horseback 14 miles on a cold February day the day before to see his daughter Susanna Quick to arrange about returning to make their home with them. He became so chilled he died from the effects of the exposure. His wife survived him for four years, dying October 13th, 1854. He carried a hickory cane with a buck horn hand piece. He was a member of the Whig party from its earliest existence. He and his wife were members of the Regular Baptist and never failed to attend the regular monthly meetings if it was possible. His parents were Methodists but he never attached himself to that body. He always wore shoes made on a straight last and changed them every morning and maintained that it was only pride that caused people to have them right and left. He said that people's feet used to be straight but they were getting to be sprung crooked. He often told about the early settlers and told about how they lived. He gave an accurate description of the pack saddle.

In early times flax was raised, pulled up, spread on the ground and rotted, the fibre broke on a break made for that purpose then the shives were beat out by being held on a round top perpendicular board called a singling board. A wooden knife was used to beat with, which was made of oak or hickory, and called a singling knife. It was about eighteen or twenty inches long, sharp on both edges and thicker in the center. After the flax was broken a hackle was used to pull out the top which was full of small branches and the lint that was unfit for use. It was singled until the fibre was all beat out and the lint beat fine then a finer hackle was used and

the part that the hackle pulled out was called tow and was spun into coarse thread and woven into coarse cloth for pants and coarse towels. The flax was spun into thread for sewing and to be woven into finer goods such as shirts, tablecloths, napkins, sheets and the like. Often dresses were made of linen and were usually worn for several years. Linsey was made by weaving wool into cotton or linen chain and was used by women principally for fall and winter wear. All of this was home spun.

The hide of the beef was tanned at home or with some of the neighbors and made into shoes. Often the leather was not blackened. Any one was considered fortunate to possess a pair of shoes. They wore moccasins made of deer skin. The deer skin was also home tanned. The tanning was often done with oak bark; it was dried, pounded with an ax, the skin was wet and kept covered with this oak bark for about one year for upper leather and two years for sole leather.

FAMILY RECORD

Spencer Records, son of Josiah Records and Susannah Tully his wife, was born December 11, 1762. Josiah Records was a son of John Records and Ann Callaway his wife, was born May 11, 1741 O.S., Sussex county, Delaware. Spencer Records married Elizabeth Elrod, April 15, 1791. She was a daughter of John and Mary Elrod of Virginia. Spencer Records was the oldest of twelve children—names as follows: Spencer, Nicy, Laban, Joseph, Ann, John, Elizabeth, Josiah, Sarah, Mary, Susannah and William. Moved to Indiana six miles north of Columbus in 1821.

I will now give the names of our children, the dates of their births, deaths and marriages.

Josiah was born on the 10th day of April, 1792; married Mary Alexander 8th day of April, 1813.

John was born on the 6th day of July, 1793; married Rachel Bailey March 28th, 1817.

James was born July 25th, 1795; married Elizabeth Heaton October 23d, 1820. He departed this life September 23d, 1823.

Hannah was born July 4th, 1797; married John Wilson on the 29th of December, 1814.

Laban was born September 8th, 1799; married Hannah Bradley, his first wife, September 9th, 1822; married his second wife Elizabeth Barnet, September 24th, 1825.

William P. was born on the 23d day of November, 1801; married Elizabeth Harvey on the 17th of March, 1826.

Mary was born on the 20th day of December, 1803; married James

Burch on the 2nd day of July 1822; she departed this life on the 17th day of October, 1823.

Susannah was born the 23d day of November, 1805; married Tunis Quick on the 3d day of September, 1823.

Matilda was born on the 20th day of October, 1808; married Josiah Hendrickson on the 13th of August, 1833.

Rachel Bagley was born on the 27th day of December, 1810; married Milton Nelson on the 6th day of December, 1830.

Elizabeth was born on the 25th day of May, 1813; departed this life on the 18th of October, 1823.

Lucinda was born the 4th of June, 1815; married James Barnet on the 13th of August, 1833.

Lucy was born on the 4th of July, 1818; departed this life on the 10th of August, 1827.

Journal of Ebenezer Mattoon Chamberlain 1832-5

A diary of a journey from Maine to Indiana, together with a description of the villages and cities, flora and fauna of the country, manners and customs of the pioneers.¹—L. F.

The bar rules of Maine being such as to require me to read law three years longer before I could here obtain admission to practice, on the 19th day of June, 1832, I put into execution the resolution I had formed of going to Indiana where the facilities for admission to the practice of law were such that in addition to the advantages of traveling, I could save one or two years' practice in the profession.

Whoever has torn himself from those scenes and associations of youth, sacred to friendship and kindred and home, and without experience and but limited means, launched forth upon the ocean of adventure, can faintly conceive the feeling with which I met the crisis which called for the exercise of whatever I possessed of sensibility and resolution. Oh my mother! the painful emotions with which I caught the last sad expression of thy anguished heart—but the hour, the moment had come, a feeling of desperation nerved my bosom while I snatched an embrace and bade adieu to my parents, brothers and friends. I have only one dear sister—I stepped into the chaise and as I rapidly hastened onward to bid her farewell, a feeling of sadness settled upon me as I cast a lingering look on each familiar object. In a few moments we

¹ Born at Orrington, Me., August 20, 1805.

Commenced work in the shipyard at the age of 16 and followed the employment till December, 1826.

May 11, 1829, commenced reading law with Elisha H. Allen, Esq., of Bangor, Me.

August 20, 1829, twenty-four years of age.

June 13, 1832, closed reading with Esq. Allen.

June 19, 1832, 10 o'clock A.M. sailed from Bucksport on the Penobscot river for New York on a tour to the Western States. This JOURNAL is edited by Louise Fogle, Bourbon, Indiana.

crossed a little streamlet—shall I ever again hear its familiar murmurs? Here on the right and left are little thickets where I have often lingered mornings and evenings listening to the music of the robin, the thrush and the cuckoo while warbling their morning anthem, or chanting their mellow vespers at eventide, succeeded later by the witching melody of the whip-poor-will. We hurried to overtake the vessel at Bucksport where it was to stop for its papers. Arriving at my sisters, I found that the passing of the vessel in which she knew I was to embark, had warned her of my approach; conversing one moment upon ordinary topics and taking a fond adieu, we hurried onward, and as we wound along the summit of the last hill over which the road passes in sight of my sisters abode, I gazed on this last object of endearment and breathed a last farewell to all I was leaving and in a moment it disappeared as we descended the hill. We arrived at Bucksport at the moment the vessel was spreading the canvas to the northern breeze. I hastened on board, and was borne away as on the wings of the wind, straining my sight which clung to the last to whatever I had seen before—till at length all things hallowed to childhood, all things to the memory of home, in a moment vanished. Feeling that in my present situation to brood over tender recollections seemed but to disarm me of that resolution which the occasion demanded, I mechanically set my face to the west, nerving my heart, mentally pronounced my motto “Onward”.

Passed Owlshead at four and Whitehead at five o'clock, Monhegan at eight o'clock. Soon we were borne away where to mortal ken naught but the waste of ocean was around us. When twilight shed a pensive gloom around our little bark, I committed myself to that God in whose Hands was my Destiny.

June 20th 9 A.M. made Cape Cod,—becalmed. The white sand banks of Cape Cod even appeared familiar so often had I heard its legendary tales. “Captain”, said I, “is this the place where the girls roll down for pastime”? “The very spot”, he replied. Our captain was a descendant of a Cape Codman and my inquiry seemed to open an inexhausable storehouse of anecdote which offered us a change from that monotony which had only been disturbed by an occasional sail, or some monster of the deep booming along in his native element.

June 22 saw the sun rise at sea. I had heard much said of the beauty of the rising of the sun at sea, I hastened on deck in the morning and turned to the glowing east, and soon in matchless splendor, as if emerging from his liquid bed, the king of day appeared, robed in light effulgent, and shed his radiance on the waste of ocean.

June 25 9 A.M. arrived at New York. This I considered but the starting point of my pilgrimage.

June 26 I devoted to visiting the various ports of this immense and busy city. I found all impressed with a "fearful looking for" of a visitation by "that dreadful pestilence, which walketh in darkness"—the cholera.²

June 27, left New York and in a brief space was propelled by the mighty energies of steam to Albany and took passage on the railroad to Schenectady. There is something truly noble in the wild and grand scenery along the Hudson. Among other objects of interest, I caught a glimpse of West Point, and thought of Arnold and Washington, and my country.

June 28 arrived at Schenectady. Among the astonishing inventions of man, surely that of the locomotive steam engine hath no secondary rank. By this matchless exercise of skill, we fly with a smooth and even course along once impassable barriers, the valleys are filled, the mountains laid low, and distance seems annihilated. I took my seat as near as possible to the car containing the engine, in order to examine more minutely the operation of this, to me, novel and stupendous specimen of human skill. Having thus, as if by some invisible agency flown the distance of 16 miles in 40 minutes, at Schenectady I took passage on the Hudson and Erie canal for Buffalo. Here again I was amazed with the novel mode

² "During the summer of 1832, the whole country was greatly alarmed and excited by the appearance of that terrible scourge, the Asiatic Cholera. About the close of June it began its ravages; and partly in consequence of terror and fright, and partly from ignorance of the nature of the disease, it was extensively fatal in its effect. Over three thousand died in New York City, between the fourth of July, and the 1st of October. In Philadelphia nearly one thousand died; in Baltimore, about six hundred; in Washington, nearly two hundred; and other cities and towns suffered in about the same proportion. But in New Orleans the cholera proved very malignant; for between the 28th of October and the 11th of November, sixteen hundred deaths occurred."—*History of the United States*, by Spencer and Lossing, Vol. III, p. 387.

of navigation, by which we sail along the margin of cultivated fields.

June 29, we passed Little Falls. At this place there is something striking and grand in the scenery as one passes on the canal, winding along the summit of the hill, suspended as it were by magic over the tumbling waters beneath. This evening, we floated down along the streets of the city of Utica, which though once an inland city, is now by the energies of science added to the number of commercial cities. The canal passing through the center of the city, presents quite a novel sight to the stranger. The entire route from Schenectady to Utica presents scenery the most varied, rich and novel. Sailing through orchards, on the margins of cultivated fields, and through groves decorated with foliage fresh and fragrant. Particularly rich and varied was the foliage which clothed a forest we entered near Onieda.

June 30, passed Syracuse. Here the eye of the traveler is arrested by the extensive works for the manufacture of salt, from the salt springs which abound in this region, the water of which is said to be more than five times as salt as the ocean.

How has the kind Heaven adorned the happy land,
And scattered blessings with a lavish hand.

To the inhabitants of the interior, the products of these salt springs are more valuable than would be all the treasures of the Potasi.

July 1st, passed Clyde and Lyons, both flourishing villages.

July 2nd, passed Rochester and was led by curiosity to look upon the scene of Sam Patch's immortality. The Genessee Falls form a beautiful concave, and here it was that Sam Patch, from a height of 125 feet took his last leap into the foaming basin at the foot of the falls and quenched forever his singular thirst for immortality.

The gaping multitudes might stare,
Patch took his stand aloft in air,
In rivalry of fame, his bear
On high, nor less exalted stood
Eyeing their goal the dim low flood
Ere down the giddy height he springs,
"Some thing as well as other things,
Sure can be done", the hero cried,
Then leaped and whirled, dashed sunk and died,
But no mistake the victor bear
Leaped matchless—rival folk beware—
Sam died and left you—a name,
But Bruin lives in peerless fame.

July 3, passed Lockport and climbed by water to the summit of the hill on which the flourishing village is situated. Among other stupendous exhibitions of human art and energy is the excavation for 4 or 5 miles the canal is cut to a depth of 10 to 30 feet through a solid ledge. We hasten onward to Buffalo. Before being allowed to enter the city, we were twice rigidly examined, as has frequently been the case before on entering any place of importance, to ascertain if any one among us had been infected by the cholera, having also been detained here in the quarantine ground.

July 4, the day of the nation's jubilee, having entered Buffalo, we hastened to embark for Cleveland, leaving the city shrouded in gloom by the impending danger of the cholera, instead of being enlivened by the accustomed festivities of the day. We took passage in the schooner *Atlanta*, Captain Chase. As we swept along the bosom of Lake Erie, I could not forbear the feeling of national pride, while for the first time plowing the waters rendered glorious by the triumph of heroic Perry over his countries foes.

July 6th, we put in, in a heavy squall, to Fairport where for the first time, with all the novel emotions of a western emigrant, I planted foot upon the soil of Ohio. Leaving Fairport we arrived at Cleaveland.

July 8, Cleveland is a place truly characteristic of the

commercial ports on our inland seas. All was business and bustle, shipping off the superabundant produce of this fruitful region, and receiving in return foreign luxuries and necessities for its rapidly increasing population. At this time the grand exciting theme of conversation was the Cholera and Black Hawk's War, to meet whom in battle the American troops had just previous to our arrival passed through Buffalo and this place. Attended the Church of England in the forenoon—mummery. Here we took passage on the Erie and Ohio canal.

July 12th, arrived at Newark, which village perhaps more than any other we had passed, was alarmed and excited upon the subject of the Cholera. Though far in the interior of Ohio, the canal is making this a place of importance.

July 14th, we reached Columbus the seat of government, which is a pleasant and flourishing village. I visited the states prison and blushed for my countrymen who by their folly and vice 180 of them had made themselves the disgraced inmates of a place which only becomes the dominion of a tyrant the liberty of whose subjects is dependent upon his own despotic and capricious will.

July 15, we reached Chillicothe, the canal being completed no farther than this place. Captain Denis, a fellow passenger from New York, and myself hired a hack and proceeded onward for Portsmouth. The road passing over a very rough and broken country. On following the Scioto, at Pike's Ford in Pike county, I felt my curiosity considerably excited at fording a river of the celebrity and magnitude of the Scioto, the idea of fording a river being to me an entire novelty. I soon found however that he who would travel the western country and cross western streams must ford them. We reached Portsmouth about eleven o'clock that night. I shall never forget the feelings with which, in the clear light of the full-orbed moon, I came in sight of the far-famed Ohio river, and forest clad mountains of Kentucky. Wrapt in contemplation of the first view of Kentuck, "O! Kentucky, the hunters of Kentucky", involuntarily broke from my lips. To come in sight of this for the first time—under the same circumstances, and in the same frame of mind with which they burst

upon my vision, is well worth a journey from Bangor, Maine, to that eminence from which I viewed them. At Portsmouth the workmen were hastening the completion of the canal which joins the Ohio at this place.

July 16, in the fore part of the day, we took steamboat passage for Cincinnati, at which city we found ourselves on the morning of July 17. The city of Cincinnati, in its growth, the acquirements of wealth, eminence, and fame—political, commercial and literary, may doubtless, for an inland city, defy the world for a parallel. Its situation is handsome and salubrious; the surrounding country almost unsurpassed for fertility. From its canals and its turnpikes are poured treasures in upon her. The roads are thronged with teams from the interior of Ohio and Indiana. Her canal boats are laden with goods and produce, to and from the same regions, and the majestic Ohio swarms with steam-boats bringing the tributes from every region to this emporium of the west. But why should I speak of the majestic Ohio, or the more majestic stream of which it is a tributary; uselessly, nay in the very mockery of the swarming millions, peopling the vast regions of the finest portion of the globe, would their waters have sparkled and dashed along in their march to the ocean had not the inventive genius of man set tide and distance at defiance by the application to nautical purposes of the energy of steam. Though navigable for 3 or 4000 miles, these noble rivers but for this invention must have remained un-navigated but for an all-directing Providence imparting this valuable discovery at the precise period when millions of his beings were just beginning to want its aid. And to speak justly of the swarms of emigrants, which chiefly by its instrumentality are pouring into this fair land would be looked upon as mild exaggeration, for aside from the citizens of the many different states of the republic, it seems as if there was formed an alliance of all the nations to overwhelm the land as the Northern Hive did the Roman Empire, for I traveled in company with representatives of eight different nations, English, Scotch, Irish, Welch, French, Dutch, Swiss, Germans and finally from Portsmouth to Cincinnati with seven Austrian roman catholic priests. Whether these latter were God-sends

or not is problematical, for unless they prove a greater blessing to their adopted than to their native country, we can very well dispense with their christian charities. Be this as it may *Holy church* is fairly lusted upon the valley of the Mississippi and the Pope is doubtless much flattered with his success. They have already the most celebrated institutions of learning in Cincinnati which the state affords and are sparing neither labor nor money to rivet their doctrines and dogmas upon the minds of the western world.

July 23, with my little bundle of necessities, I took my staff and left the city in the character of a pedestrian. I journeyed onward and put up at Hamilton, a village of considerable note on the Dayton canal, 25 miles from the city of Cincinnati.

July 24th, trudging onward, I laughed outright repeatedly on the figure I was cutting—on foot—alone—a thousand miles from home—quite out of money—pushing onward—the Lord only knew where or for what. I crossed the line from Ohio to Indiana at precisely 20 m. past 5 o'clock p.m. which fact I noticed particularly. My first night's lodging in Indiana was with a farmer by the name of Haywood, the kindness of the old gentleman and lady (by the way genuine Hoosiers) was a welcome solace to me, wearied, my feet badly blistered, and lame as I was from traveling. At the table I was a little amused at having a saucer of molasses set for me to eat either with my bread or pork, the old man by his inquiries having ascertained that I was a Yankee.

July 25, I reached Connersville, the county seat of Fayette county, and put up with Mr. Adams. Learning that Mr. Campbell and his family from my native town lived not far distant, the next day after a walk of a few miles, I reached his house. The old gentleman and lady who had been sixteen years from Bangor, Maine, and as many of his children and grandchildren as had any recollection of the land of their nativity, had as many questions to ask me as I could answer in a week. I therefore made it my home with them about that length of time, getting notes and somewhat naturalized. I then took a little excursion around the vicinity, which I found to be a very pleasant country. Finding myself at this time absolutely

penniless I engaged a small country school.³ At the close of which I engaged for a second quarter. Among other provincialisms and peculiarities of this people, the which would fill a volume: a custom prevails among the scholars either to make the master treat on Christmas day or else to turn him out of doors and duck him in the first horse pond they can get him to. Particularly in the school I engaged the custom had prevailed "a time whereof the memory runneth not to the contrary", and as the signal day approached I perceived indications that they had no intentions of losing their frolic. I designed cutting me a cudgel for the occasion, but on going to the house, on the afternoon of the day previous, I found they had anticipated my resolution, and fixing on that time as commencement of hostilities had taken possession of the castle and fastened the gates (doors and window shutters). A messenger stood at the door with proposals and conditions. He *axed me if I allowed to treat*—I told him I should be my own counsellor as to the matter. He *recokoned I a heap sight better treat, for he allowed I would stand a right smart chance to have a heap of fuss if I didn't*. Though I had neither cudgel or other weapon I concluded this was neither the time to parley or back out, so I told the sentinel that I should take the liberty to enter the camp without giving the countersign. After knocking at the door three times and receiving no answer I severed the shutter and tore it open about which time a window on the back side opened through which making a precipitate flight there was no small scatterment among the small fry. I instantly raised the window and doubtless presented to the inmates an appearance much like a wolf looking through the bars. I ordered the ringleader to open the door, which with a very sheeplike aspect and spirit he instantly obeyed. Making my appearance among them I took the pedagogues corner and ordered them to their seats, which every mother's son of them obeying most passively there was an end to their fun for that Christmas. In the evening I appointed a spelling school at which I invited all the parents to attend, and to whom and the scholars, particularly those who encour-

³ I have heard my grandfather Chamberlain say many times, that his last two-shillings was spent to pay postage on a letter which had arrived from his home in Maine before he did, and was sent *collect*. (L. F.)

aged such a custom, gave a very serious and Yankee-like lecture. Closing my school on the 22d of February, 1833, I commenced reading law in Connersville on the 6th of March following.

On the 11th day of March I received tidings of an event more afflictive than all other causes of grief, I always loved my mother. I believe the ties of kindred never bound more enduring bonds than a mother's fondness and kindness had thrown around my heart—but the long dreaded hour came, and she was called to her rest on the 19th of February, 1833, and her last look of anguish when I bid her adieu on the 19th of June previous, left an impression on my mind which I shall carry unfaded to the grave.

August 10th witnessed a consummation of a purpose to which every exertion my limited means permitted, and every sentiment and ambition had been devoted for the last seven years—admittance to the practice of law. On this day after so long a time I passed a successful examination and obtained my license. At the fall term of court which commenced in Fayette county on the 14th of September I made my salam before the jury in my newly acquired character of attorney at law. The bar of this state is respected for talent and legal requirements; there are however those of its members, who in both these respects, fall much below the standard, and whose blunders (being quite illiterate) are an inexhaustable theme of the most unrestrained amusement to those whose superiority seems to give them a license to indulge in unbounded pleasantry at their expense. I think however the practice of admitting lawyers on examination is much preferable to that of requiring them to devote a certain length of time to legal acquirement as a requisite to admission, without regard to their legal attainments, which prevails in Maine. Anxious to see more of the country, and not regarding Fayette county as the most desirable location, for the length of time I design spending in the west, I leant my attention toward the new and far-famed region of St. Joseph. Though a transient sojourner at Connersville, I had formed such an attachment for the place, as induced me to regret leaving it, urged on however by the desire to accomplish an original purpose, and the gratification of an ardent spirit of adventure, I left the place for the St. Joseph country on the tenth of October, 1833.

The most convenient mode of traveling which I could procure, was in company with two young families who were moving out, and I took my chance to ride in the heavily laden wagon, ride on horseback occasionally, or wend my way on foot. Thus we started and soon found that recent heavy rains had rendered the roads which were in a state of ill repair, almost impassible.

October 10th, we traveled twenty miles, and put up with a family by the name of Clifford a native of New England who I found had some years previous enlisted in the van of western pioneers, the old man had been a preacher of the gospel but we soon ascertained that he had become a reckless, jolly toper, often crooking his elbows at the shrine of Bacchus. The family having disposed of their supper, the women in our company commenced preparation for ours by bringing in from the wagons the requisite provisions and cooking utensils with which they were supplied. Our supper over, after an hour's chat, the preparation for lodging was the order of the day. This brought into exercise the skill of the women to make arrangements as best they could for the accommodation of three young wives, three young husbands, the driver a married man of forty, and two passengers one who was a young man of thirty in the enjoyment of single blessedness—and one an infant child, for the accommodation of whom but one bed could be procured, excepting such as were made on the floor from bedding our company had with them. The arrangements were soon made for one couple bespoke the only spare bed—without stopping at considerations of those who had never taken a lesson of experience in moving into a new country—the women soon had our bed in order—I say bed for in fact there was but one for the whole—all the materials of the kind having for that purpose been spread on the floor in such a manner as best enabled the whole company to lay side by side. Being the first time I had ever been through the operation of bundling in this style, I must say I felt a little embarrassment in undressing and getting into the same bed with husbands and wives and this in the same room also with the females of the family—there being but one room in the house. But nevertheless so it was, that in a manner almost promiscuously we all stretched ourselves out before the fire, husbands and wives, and old bachelors; and after a night's

sleep as sound and refreshing as if in separate apartments on beds of down, we turned out in the morning and after breakfasting in the same manner as we had supped we harnessed our team and again packed away our provisions and furniture, pushed on upon our second day's journey. This arrangement for lodging with occasionally a little more or less inconvenience was our uniform arrangement during our ten days on the road. Our dinners were generally cooked and ate along the roadside at some convenient place for watering and feeding our horses.

October 11, we took our journey north for the National road, following a mere track through the woods. Having come near to the road we came to a fense across the way and a boy of 14 or 15 standing by it. We asked him if the road went that way, he said "yes" but he would not let us pass through the fense without a "fip", that is 4½ cents, "case this is dad's tater patch and we would mash a heap of taters". The fact was he had stoppped up the proper road and pretended that we could pass no other way than through the "tater patch". Our teamster told him to go to hell for his "fip", and we would make a road for ourselves. I took the ax and went ahead but the young chap told us that was dad's land and he would prosecute us if we went that way and very resolutely threw back the brush into the road I had thrown out. I finally took by the but end a fallen sappling to which he had fastened for the purpose of throwing it before the horses, and the way I slung both sapling and boy out of the way was a caution to all "tater patch" toll gatherers, and the last we saw of him was when he put home for death ruin and his valedictory when he left us was "—— — my soul into —— if dad dont make you pay smart money for this". We now came onto the famous National or Wheeling road about 20 miles east of Indianapolis. This road though a very superb structure was in many places almost entirely impassable for mud, occasioned by the recent heavy rains and the roads recently having been worked. Over the numerous creeks and rivers we passed, Uncle Sam has thrown stone arched bridges with covered frames above. In a tremendous rainstorm and in utter darkness we at length arrived at a tavern kept by one Hagar. His house was not only full to

overflowing but stables were also full, and we almost despaired of finding shelter either for ourselves or the horses, but finally after spending an hour and a half in making arrangement for our horses, groping around in the dark and drenched in rain the while, we at length went to the house to make such shift as best we might for our own carcasses, hungry, weary and wet having this day traveled 25 miles. After our usual arrangements as to lodging and so forth, we the next day, October 12th, passed through Indianapolis, a village of no great importance other than as the seat of government of the state, quite pleasantly situated on the banks of the White river a stream not navigable for steamboats. Here is the governor's house situated on a pleasant eminence near the center of the village, on the one hand and on the same street in the extreme part of the village is the court house, a very similar building, and on the other hand and the same street, the capital near a huge pile of brush, was just being built. Here it is that has been let off in a manner to afford many amusing anecdotes, that purely Hoosier eloquence of which the following is a specimen (on a bill for improving a certain river): "Mr. Speaker—it *are* a fact that our rivers *is* rapid, and our resources for salt *am* slim". Here we left the National road again and took a northerly direction—the road almost intolerable [by the Michigan road]. Having traveled 19 miles we came to another Hoosiers nest and put up.

October 13th, we again put ahead through mud and over stumps and soon drove into a mudhole, and the axle-tree of one of the wagons striking a stump fetched up all standing and broke both of our single trees, or in Yankee phrase—whipple trees. Our next business was to haul up and repair, being a carpenter myself I was soon in the mud to my knees and elbows. When the necessary repairs being soon accomplished we were again under way. Night, and the distance of 16 miles brought us to the "nest" of Nevill a Kentuckian: one of Kentucky's real hunters. He came in from the woods with his rifle soon after we got there. A young man possessed of that frankness and hospitality which is truly characteristic of the Kentucks. His three charming children gathered about his knee to whom he related all the particulars of the day's hunt, and divided among them the pocketsful of haslenuts which

he had promised to fetch them. Here for the first time in my life I heard the wolves howl,—and such another concert as they set up in the evening—I began to think that I had got some ways from home. About 2 miles traveling the next morning brought us to a small prairie.

October 14, this being the first I had ever seen, I stopped a moment to gaze. So this is a prairie—not a rock—not a tree or shrub, save where 'tis bounded by the dense, distant forest. Eighteen miles traveled this day brought us to Michigantown—a city of four log houses. Proceeding onward the next day.

October 15th we found ourselves when evening and in fact almost total darkness came on, just entering an extensive marsh, the road across which being utterly impassable we found and took a track which apparently led around it. As we advanced into the woods on this track we soon found ourselves so completely enveloped in darkness that the driver could not see even the track. I therefore proposed going on before the team and leading a white horse we had in the company for a guide for the driver, and having succeeded in keeping the track we eventually regained the road, along which we groped our way till we came in view of the welcome light of another Hoosiers nest. Here at Proseners we made a halt. Nineteen miles this day. Though we here found our usual conveniences for cooking and lodging, yet he had nothing for our horses, but being told of a farm which lay through the woods to the west, I volunteered for one to go in quest of corn. Myself and another were soon mounted and off. Taking a lantern and being directed to the path, we bent our course toward the Pacific ocean, and verily thought I could hear the surf lashing its rocky shores, before the saluation of the day apprised us that we were drawing nigh the object of our nocturnal visit. We “hailed the house and then alighted”. The old man first called off the dogs and then went with us to the cornfield. While we were gathering the corn the hour was rife with anecdotes, in the relation of which the old man enjoyed himself much, especially that of the Dutchman and Yankee. He said that Pennsylvania Dutchmen, who are peculiar for their hatred to the Yankee nation, said: “If von tam Jankee comes pon my house and goes away and dont steal

nottin, I vont pelief he has been dar py tam if I vill". Our corn being gathered the old man wanted us to buy some honey and took us to his store house (a log hovel built over a spring) which was rich indeed with the spoils of the forest. Venison of all kinds fresh and smoked "in plenty hung" and every vessel he could procure or make, full of and dripping with honey. It is found in great abundance in the forests in this state. Late at night we got back with our corn.

October 16th we continued on our journey and about noon I stood upon the banks of the Wabash and with emotions I presume peculiar to all travelers I looked for the first time upon its passing waters as they hastened onward to the father of rivers. An incident occurred at White river near Indianapolis a short time since characteristic of that wanton recklessness of human life, and the consequences of crime, which I am happy to say is but seldom occurrence in the better ordered society of my native state. A very worthy young man who had but a short time resided in the place by some means became obnoxious to the ferryman, naturally a brutal man, came one day to cross the river. The ferryman in the wantonness of cruelty told him to get into the boat, but that he would be damned if he would not drown him before he got over. He however got in in company with another, telling the ferryman that he guessed he did not mean to drown him. The ferryman still swearing he pushed from the shore and when in the deepest of the river purposely overset the boat and himself and the passenger swam to the shore. The young man succeeded in getting hold of the boat and told the ferryman that he would pay for that if he ever got on shore. At this the ferryman with the bitterest imprecations plunged into the river, swam to him, seized him by the throat, pulled him under the water and they both sank together. The brute having finished his hellish design came up and swam to shore but the young man never rose, until he was subsequently found and taken from the river with evidence of the violence upon his throat and other parts of the body. This infernal deed was done in view of several who stood upon the shore and still the murderer was only sentenced to two or three years imprisonment in the penitentiary. And even while there his son committed a similar outrage upon a woman with an infant in

her arms, who however was rescued by her husband who had previously crossed over and this transaction my informant saw, and was entirely unnoticed.⁴

Logansport, the point where the Wabash and Erie canal terminates, stands in the fork at the junction of the Wabash and Eel rivers. The water being at low stage we forded over and passed through Logansport. A steamboat was lying there which had ascended thus far and the water being rather low did not dare venture back over the ripple. The treaty with the Miami Indians not far from this place being at this time attempted to be made, most of the speculators and gamblers and horseracers and loungers of the place were absent and I was informed that the appropriate business of the treaty (which proved a total failure) gave place to one continual scene of the accustomed vocations of such like gentlemen. Passing through town we forded the Eel river and reached the Barrens about 4 o'clock p.m. Having heard much of this description of country I felt quite a curiosity to reach the Barrens. Emerging from the thick woods I found the Barrens to consist of a scattering growth of various kinds of scrubby oaks. The soil is sandy though black and rich and the roads through them excellent naturally, always being dry even in the wettest seasons. The leaves that fall, and the luxuriant growth of grass, herbs and flowers becoming dry in the fall produce a mass of combustible matter, which every year causes a sweeping fire to run through them which is probably why the timber is of such an inferior quality. However, the soil is of so loose a nature that it cannot sustain a heavy growth, it being blown down by violent winds. We drove 16 miles this day and put up with Miller—who was trying the experiment of a farm in the barrens, which produced well, he said, and improved by length of cultivation. The soil being so impregnated with lime that when exposed to the sun, air and rain even from the bottom of cellars and wells, soon turns black and produces abundantly.

The next day, October 17th, we traveled 22 miles through the barrens and at night forded the Tippecanoe and put up

⁴ The ferryman was Michael Van Blaricum and the victim William McPherson. The murder was committed about noon May 8, 1833. Governor Noah Noble pardoned Van Blaricum.—Holloway, *History of Indianapolis*, p. 45. This was the first murder in Indianapolis, if it could be called such.

with Judge Polke,⁵ commissioner of the Michigan road bonds. The way the poor Indians were sucked in, in this Michigan road business was a caution. A road was laid out the whole length of the state, from the Ohio river to Lake Michigan, most of the way through Indian lands, and in addition to this they were induced to give a section of land to every mile of road to be appropriated in making it, the Indians being made to believe that a road through their country would be a great benefit to them, but poor fellows, it let in a flood of immigration which has swallowed up their whole country and the powerful tribe of Pottawattomies and all others, save a degenerate remnant of the Miamis, have by the last treaty sold the last foot of their heritage, before the road was half completed. As my horse dashed through the waters of the Tippecanoe its name called up the recollection of their last feeble effort to save their delightful country.⁶ Their bleaching bones at Harrison's battle ground forty miles below where we crossed speak their nation's epitaph.

On the morning of October 18th we again moved onward and after about two hours' ride came to a small Pottawattomie village. On coming in sight of it across a small prairie, we perceived a small white flag waving with an emblem of a cross upon it. On approaching the flag and finding that it stood by the side of a small enclosure of rude picketing we had the curiosity to ascertain what was there enclosed. On examination we found it to be an Indian's grave. He was entirely above the surface of the ground setting with his back against a tree and his face to the west, having about him some of the rude emblems of office. On the outside of this

⁵ "Col. William Polke was one of the most distinguished men in northern Indiana and was the first to blaze the way to civilization in this part of the state. He was one of the original proprietors of the town of Plymouth, and was appointed by the governor to take charge of the Pottawattomie Indians when they were removed from Twin Lakes in 1838 by Gen. John Tipton. He was buried three and one-half miles north of the south Marshall county line, and one-half mile east of the Michigan road on his farm, and the place is still known as 'Polke's Cemetery'. Plymouth was undoubtedly given its name by Colonel Polke who seems to have been the leading spirit in securing the location of the county seat."—McDonald, *History of Marshall County*, p. 188.

⁶ Eighty years later, a grand-daughter of the writer of this Journal (Louise T. Fogle), organized a chapter of Daughters of American Revolution. Living near this river and this same spot, and actuated by recollections similar to these, named the chapter "Tippecanoe River".

barbarous repository of the dead were the ashes where had been kindled a large fire and a beaten circle around the picketing where the funeral dance had been performed. We learned that this was the grave of Ob-ee-knob-ee, a Pottawattomie chief, who in different drunken frolics had killed two of his wives and three of his sons and finally one of his sons killed him, and here he rotted after an exhibition of a combination of those rites equally barbarous and impious which savage superstition and hypocritical priestcraft had taught his race. Having traveled twenty miles we put up with an avaricious surly Dutchman named Oasterhouse.⁷

October 19th we traveled 25 miles and put up with Pomeroy on Assumption prairie.⁸ This was the first extensive dry prairie we came to on the road, or that I had ever seen,—elevated if any difference rather above the surrounding woods, and of a most fertile soil. It was a matter of novelty to me to see immense flocks of wild geese flying and feeding about it. I learned that the lakes and prairies abound with them, and that they are very destructive on fields of grain.

October 20th we journeyed onward again for the St. Joseph, the banks of which we reached about 11 o'clock in quite a snow storm, at the town of South Bend, the county seat of St. Joseph county. We continued our course up the St. Joseph 16 miles to Pleasant Plain, a prairie about 2 miles in extent, where about three miles from the mouth of the Elkhart and a small village of that name, we took up our abode in a real Hoosier's Nest for a few weeks till we could look about the country a little. What a happy trait in the human character is that versatility of our nature which enables us with so much ease to adapt our feelings to our circumstances and even find pleasure in all the changes of life. Let purse proud elbowing insolence create to itself ten-thousand wants, pine and languish on beds of down, but let not the votaries of wealth

⁷ "July 19, 1836. Charles Osterhaut was granted license for one year to keep tavern. His place was about two miles south of Plymouth on the west side of the Michigan road. He was a member of the board of commissioners, and the board met at his house until the first courthouse was erected after the county was organized (1836), when it began holding meetings in that building. That building is still standing (1908). It is the second house east of Michigan street on Adams street in Plymouth."—McDonald, *History of Marshall County*, p. 59.

⁸ Now called Sumption Prairie.

and pleasure say that they enjoy more, nay as much real happiness and contentment as is found in the little

Hoosier's nest or Buckeye cabin
Just big enough to hold Queen Mab in.
Its situation low but airy
Just on the borders of a prairie,
Where one must stoop to enter in,
The entrance closing with a pin.
Where all in one small room do dwell
And sleep and eat and cook quite well.
Two beds are in the corners placed
With curtains round in genteel taste,
In one hangs clothes for babe and mother
And clock and cupboard grace the other,
One window made of well greased paper
But moonlight answers for a taper
The chimney being low and wide
This kind of light doth well provide.

Such in short was the little log cabin in which for some weeks I found more real comfort than I thought could possibly consist with such a situation, enjoying the while perfect good health except on the evening of the 28th of October, a severe headache and excessive fatigue occasioned by a deer hunt and a visit to a cranberry bog about five miles distant, where on that day I got my feet wet.

November 5th I started on an excursion through some of the south-western counties of Michigan, visiting for the first place in the territory White Pigeon on the White Pigeon prairie in St. Joseph county. This is an extensive fertile and very pleasant prairie, the town which has been built in about two years is very pleasant and prosperous. The inhabitants are mostly from New York state, and apparently possess more of wealth and refinement than is common for the villages in this new country.

November 6th I passed through Constantine, a little town just budding on the banks of the St. Joseph about three miles from Pigeon. It is possessed of natural advantages such as excellent water power for all hydraulic purposes, and is situated on navigable waters, which will enable it eventually to outstrip Pigeon in wealth and improvement. Passing on to Kalamazoo county mostly through barrens, I arrived and put

up at Big Prairie Round, at Patrick's town. Here in the midst of this immense and fertile prairie is an extensive and beautiful grove, or in the phrase of the country an island, of thick timber. This upon a prairie is a natural advantage which is quite sure to cause a village to spring up under its lee, which is here the eastern side, there being in this region almost a constant prevalence of a western wind.

November 7th, I started for Cass county, traveling part of this day through a heavy growth of thick timber I reached Little Prairie Round about 18 miles where I put up. This prairie is entirely surrounded just in the skirt of the woods with some 30 or 40 families who from different regions have emigrated there within the last year or two. Here again I saw immense flocks of wild geese upon the wheat fields.

November 8th traveled through barrens and across Pokagon, an extensive and highly cultivated prairie I reached Niles, a village on the St. Joseph 25 miles by land and 50 by water from its mouth. Niles, quite a flourishing village, has like all other villages in the St. Joseph country, sprung up as if by magic, in a year or two. I put up at the tavern of Olas and was astonished to find quite a spacious house entirely overflowing with customers. Here were movers and merchants and travellers and peddlers of all sorts and sizes. The next morning, November 9th, I started for Newburyport at the mouth of the St. Joseph river in Berrien county and its county seat. Ten miles from Niles I crossed the St. Joseph at Brown's ferry. Here lies a steamboat where an attempt was made to navigate the river, but from its improper construction for that purpose it was laid aside. Traveling through barrens and small prairies to within about 12 miles of the lake I entered the heaviest growth of thick woods I have seen in the country. Reaching Newburyport^s I put up at a tavern just upon the shore of Lake Michigan where at night I was lulled to sleep by the roar of its dashing waters. It was a sound lonesome and melancholy yet grateful to my ears, calling up the recollections of other lands and other times. Though Newburyport is a place of considerable business with a number of stores, large warehouses, steam mill, light-house and a ship-yard where a steamboat for navigating the river was being built, and will be a place of much more importance whenever

^s The city of St. Joseph, Michigan.

an appropriation is made by Uncle Sam to improve the harbor, yet to me it seemed dreary, I felt oppressed with a sense of vastness of distance or some similar painful emotion, for it seemed as if I saw the ocean on the wrong side of creation.

Leaving the place November 10th, I arrived at Elkhart on the next day, November 11th, though on the route I experienced much rain and unpleasant weather, yet from the nature of the soil the roads for the most part were dry and excellent, except through the woods.

November 16th I started for LaPorte, put up with Johnson at South Bend the county seat of St. Joseph county.

November 17th I crossed an arm of the Portage prairie, but I had not the full pleasure of facing a violent snowstorm driven full in my teeth by a prairie wind till I entered on the Terre Coupee prairie when unobstructed for five or six miles the wind has fair play. I however buffeted it across this and the no less spacious Rolling prairie, till at length entering upon the Door prairie I finally arrived at LaPorte, the county seat of LaPorte county. This is a pleasant village situated near a beautiful little lake perhaps a mile across, of pure water and abounding in fish, with neither inlet or outlet. The prairie the county and the town have all taken their name from an opening between two extensive groves upon the prairie which from its resemblance to a door between two apartments received from the French the appellation LaPorte. This prairie, not less than fifteen miles in extent, is for the beauty of prospect, its lakes and groves, the fertility of its soil, etc., considered the most desirable portion of the county.

November 20th, I again reached Elkhart, and after all my ramblings concluded to spend the winter at that place. On the 25th of November and for several subsequent days, I attended court in Goshen, the county seat of Elkhart county, and finally opening a school in Elkhart on the 8th of January,⁹ and dividing my time between my school and the business of my profession I spent the winter in the double capacity of a peda-

⁹ "At Elkhart Town one of the first to teach was E. M. Chamberlain, a young man from Maine who had been admitted to the bar a short time previously. As is well known, he afterward became an honor to the bench, the legislature and to congress."—Weaver, *History of Elkhart County*, p. 103.

"His famous address on the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, delivered before the Democratic State Convention in 1841, exemplified before the people his strength and eloquence." p. 139.

gouge and pettifogger. Much has been said, and had we our poets here, much doubtless would be sung of the natural advantages and beauties of this region. It, however, is new, and society though rapidly improving is unorganized and therefore unpleasant. There is nearly as great diversity in the materials of which the community is composed as there is in the more southern regions, and each quite tenacious of his own notions, and sentiments. Here is the Yankee the real Johnathan, who according as his education has been, or the impulses of mother wit may dictate, either moves with grave precision in all his intercourse both secular or social, or regardless alike of time and place, cracks his joke, says *Hasty-pudding*, and laughs at the odd word *mush*,—guesses at *enny-most everything*, and though among Hooshiers—swears he will be a Yankee still. The Yorkers whom the native calls *blue-bellied* Yankees, who with his quicker yet distinct accent, reserved civility and *mind-his-own-business* look, sops his bread, makes a good bargain if he can, and adheres to the superior manners and customs of the Empire state. The Englishman, a teamster, butcher or a beggar, moves around in all the conscious dignity of a lineal descendant of John Bull, and who, though fled to this country as an asylum from the poverty and oppression he suffered in his own, finds fault with everything he sees, and grows fat on the recollection of Old England. The Yahoo, from Pennsylvania, who more the Dutchman still than American, has his mold-board on the left hand side of his plow, and lets his *childer thrun pare feat* (children run bare-foot). The German Dunkard with his flowing beard and grave face, partial to his countrymen and native tongue. The Buckskin from Kentucky who eats his pork and dodger, drinks whiskey and bites and gouges; butters his tea and totes his water, and *hopes* all who *axes* him to. The Buckeye from Ohio, who hates cod-fish and is never *saw* to walk or ride when the sun shines or when it rains, but is always *walking* or *riding* when it is *shiny* or *rainy*. Then there is the Chegoe from Michigan, and the Sucker from Illinois an occasional traveler, or visitor here.¹⁰

¹⁰ At this place in the JOURNAL is a copy of a letter written to a younger brother, no doubt, Elbridge G. Chamberlain, who later came to Goshen, where he was a prominent citizen for sixty years. The letter was recorded, to preserve for the future a description of the country and the people of that early day.

ELKHART CO. IA. June 8th, 1834.

DEAR BROTHER

It had afforded me much pleasure to learn frequently that you have enjoyed good health, in common with the rest of our family and friends. For myself I certainly in my life have never enjoyed such uninterrupted good health as I have during the eight months that I have sojourned here in the land of the St. Joseph. This in a great degree must be attributed to a naturally vigorous constitution for there are several diseases peculiar to the country which are very prevalent here. Among which the fever and ague has prevailed very much in all parts of the country. I have visited many people in this place who are victims of this disease, alternately and almost continually burning with a raging fever one day, and the next shaking with the ague like "Harry Gill". I think this is more naturally pleasant than is the country in the south—Fayette county, where I spent the last season. Though a very level region yet there is a greater variety here in the scenery than there. Portions of the country are covered with a noble growth of timber of all kinds peculiar to the west, and for most part so clear of underbrush that a team may drive through without much difficulty in almost any direction. The thick woods are well stocked with game such as deer, turkeys, foxes, rabbits or pheasants as they are called here, raccoon, &c, &c, with a variety of squirrels—striped, red, grey, and black. It is delightful to go into the thick woods this season of the year, as in addition to the trees being covered with the richest variety of foliage, the whole surface of the ground as far as the eye can extend is but a living picture of green herbage and a rich variety of flowers. Next come the barrens as they are called. They are a very scattering growth of scrubby oak. The leaves which fall from them and the grass which grows among them becoming dry, the whole face of creation as it seems here, is burnt over every fall or spring (perhaps by the Indians leaving fire where they camp) and this gives the barrens the most dismal appearance, the very picture of desolation and it is very late in the season before the trees leave out or the grass grows again. But as the leaves and grass burn very quick and the fire is very rapid it is seldom that the trees are killed by it and in fact it even causes the grass to spring up with

richer luxuriance. At this season of the year (June 1st) and for some weeks past the barrens exhibit a most delightful appearance. There is no tree where the foliage is of a richer green than the oak and they are just enough scattered to be no obstruction to the prospect, which is a most beautiful carpet of green enlivened with flowers of every hue. Here it is that the birds sing their songs—endless in variety and duration. The black birds here are all kinds of colors, many to be sure are black but I have seen them nearly as red as a robin and others black with bright red or yellow spots on their wings. There are many birds new to me and some I have seen at home I have never seen here—among which is the thrush, which I used to lay in the twilight of the evening and listen to with so much pleasure, while he whistled his soft tranquil farewell to the departing day. There is a species of grey wolf that frequent the barrens very much, and the people often run them down on horseback and shoot them or kill them with clubs. Bears are very seldom seen here.

From the barrens let us visit the prairies—the glory of the west. They are of different sizes from two to twenty or fifty or even a hundred miles in extent. Some are almost a perfect level; others are rolling (in the phrase of the country) that is a succession of gentle swells. On these in many places the grass is often twenty feet high, but generally there is a much richer variety of herbage and flowers upon them than there is in the barrens or thick woods. Where they are uncultivated, and uncrossed by cattle grows in wild luxuriance,—they are annually burnt over with a tremendous rushing fire. On these occasions “save himself who can” is the principle of action with bird, beast and reptile.

The prairie often borders upon the thick woods and it is a matter of much curiosity and speculation why, upon the same kind of soil, and the richest in the world, there should be a bold line of the heaviest timber immediately joining a prairie on which there grows neither tree nor shrub. It is more general however that the prairie borders on the barrens.

The prairies have also their own peculiar kinds of animals and birds. Among which is the prairie wolf, the badger &c, of the former, and of the latter, the prairie hen is the most peculiar. They are larger than the patrige somewhat similar

in color and form except they have a larger neck and shorter tail. At this season of the year they strut round like a turkey, and at the same time make a noise—a kind of a boo-boo-b-o-o b-o-o which three sounds are made on different notes or tones rising from the first to the third. It is amusing to hear them in the morning at a distance, twenty or thirty of them visiting with each other in the interesting confusing with their boo-boo-b-o-o. The sand hill crane, an enormous great bird also inhabits the prairie. And when they hallow they make a most startling clamorous noise. Among the smaller tenants are the quail, the lark and the plover.

Among the peculiar features of the country are the numerous little lakes with which it is interspersed many of which though their water is perfectly pure have neither inlet or outlet, notwithstanding which they abound in a great variety of excellent fish. We will now take a pirogue—that is a dugout or in other words a log canoe and our gigs and spears and push up the St. Joseph or the Elkhart, just which you please and when drifting down again we will spear a mess of fish; perhaps we will catch a sturgeon five or six feet long; perhaps we will catch a pike weighing 30 or 40 pounds. The pike is probably the same as the pickerel, only the larger ones here are called pike or muskalonge. There is also a greater variety of smaller fish which come up from Lake Michigan. The sturgeon is somewhat different from those in the Penobscot and are ranked among the finest fish here.

The most unusual mode of fishing here is to go out in the night with pirogue, gig and torches when those who are skillful spear great quantities. I was out the other day with old man Compton and he speared a monstrous big turtle and let Beebe,¹¹ one of our merchants, have it and the next day Beebe invited me to dine with him on turtle soup which I assure you to be a most delicious dish.

There is something new and wild and romantic in the scenery of this region, which notwithstanding the absence of

¹¹ Judge Samuel Beebe was the character of Elkhart during the early days. He had been originally a merchant, but was then settled to the occupation of a farmer, and had been elected to the office of Probate Judge. He was a man of more than ordinary intelligence, of great good sense and correct habits, and of honorable principles, but withal a free-thinker in religion, and a practical joker. *History of Elkhart County*, p. 138.

the long tried friends, and that social intercourse in the jarring elements of society here to which I have been accustomed, in the land I remember with fond regret, has tolerably reconciled me to the place. When the dullness and monotony of a small inland village becomes irksome, I find relief from a consuming *ennui*, by spending a day or two with some of the farmers in the vicinity, who pleased and flattered with the visit spare no pains at their command to make it pleasant.

Thus after being repeatedly solicited and pressed by Mr. Faley to pay him a visit, I spent two or three days in his house about the last of June. The old man being a genuine son of Old Kentuck friendly and hospitable, whenever he takes a notion, the hour was rife of anecdotes,—of barbecues, horse-races and elections. He dwelt particularly upon a barbecue which the people of the Fork gave the company of Captain Yantes when he marched for the Canada lines and another to the troops who went to the defense of New Orleans. The Fork, as he called it, lies at the confluence of the Dick's and Kentucky rivers. Among the excellent troops sent out by that chivalrous state during the last war (1812) it seems that the Fork, and its vicinity sent its full share. On the departure of these brave fellows, the whole community *en masse*, turned out to give them a barbecue, which seems to be a sort of a free will offering on the altar of patriotism. For this purpose a trench about 15 inches deep and perhaps as wide, is dug a sufficient length, for the purpose of cooking as many pigs and chickens and lambs, mutton and veal, beef and venison as the occasion requires. This being filled with suitable wood, it is set fire to and burned, till sufficient heat and coals are produced. By the side of this trench are laid poles near its edge, large enough to raise the articles to be cooked sufficiently high from the fire.

[E. M. CHAMBERLAIN.]

In the fall of 1835, I came out a candidate, for the legislature, and made my debut on the stump, and after a well contested campaign succeeded by a large majority. The stump speech system of electioneering, which is prevalent in the west as in the south has, when compared with the convention system of the eastern and middle states, its peculiar advantages

over that system, as well as its demerits, which in some respects give the other the preference.

On the first Monday in December 1835 I entered upon the untried duties of the legislature. This was one of the most important sessions ever held in the state, as during its sitting, many new and important measures were adopted, and many others discussed.

The end

Indiana In The Mexican War

By R. C. BULEY, A.M.

THE INDIANA VOLUNTEERS

For a long time the impression has prevailed in the State that Indiana's Mexican War record was not entirely to her credit, and that the period from 1846 to 1848 constituted a chapter in her history best passed hurriedly over. The facts of the case by no means uphold this view. Indiana, a northern State, and not directly influenced by economic motives, as were the southern States, furnished for the war recruits for two whole companies of United States infantry,¹ three companies of United States mounted riflemen, one company of dragoons,² and five regiments of volunteers.³ Some three hundred of her citizens, failing to get in the regiments of their own State, enrolled from Kentucky. Whatever blunders mar the military record of the State in the war were not those of the rank and file, but of the officers, or directly the result of political interference in the officering of the regiments.

Though Indiana played a prominent part in the military events of the war, this role was of minor importance compared to the political effects resulting from the war. Not only did the war and Indiana's part in it furnish new issues, new men, and new fields for State politics, but on at least one occasion seriously concerned national politics.

In 1843 and 1844 the Democratic party made sweeping successes in Indiana. This was largely due to the fact that it broke away from the old issues of the past and struck out along new lines.⁴ In 1843 the Democrats elected their first governor of the State, James Whitcomb. Eight out of ten congressmen elected were also Democrats. In 1844, in

¹ 16th United States Infantry.

² 1st Dragoons.

³ Oran Perry, *Indiana in the Mexican War*, 5.

⁴ Esarey, *History of Indiana*. 468.

spite of the Whig denunciation of the proposed annexation of Texas as a step not favored by the people, a scheme of the South for the spread of slavery, unconstitutional and un-American in policy, the Democrats carried the State for James K. Polk. Although the war was frequently referred to by the Whigs as a Democratic War, or "Polk's Little War," when it came to sending men to the front, Whigs as well as Democrats were ready to take up arms.

Throughout the year of 1845 there was a general feeling in the air that the United States would be drawn into war with Mexico. Many Indianians, Whigs as well as Democrats, were of the opinion that war with Mexico, as a consequence of the admission of Texas as a State, was justifiable. Annexation was looked upon as far more desirable than to leave Texas to drift in uncertain currents, possibly to join European alliances, which this United States would afterward be compelled, in self-defense, to destroy.⁵

Four months after the annexation of Texas, General Zachary Taylor sailed from New Orleans and established a camp at Corpus Christi. Early in February, 1846, the "army of occupation" set out for the Rio Grande, and on March 28 pitched its tents opposite Matamoras. On March 21 the American minister to Mexico received his passports and returned to the United States. Shortly after this congress passed an act "providing for the prosecution of the existing war between the United States and the Republic of Mexico."⁶ This act enabled the President to call for volunteers, not to exceed 50,000 in numbers, to serve for twelve months, and appropriated \$10,000,000 for the war. The State militia could be compelled to serve not over six months in any year. May 22, 1846, came the first call for volunteers in Indiana in the form of the following message from Governor Whitcomb:

⁵ France went so far as to make her recognition of Texas depend upon the condition that Texas should not join the United States. This proposal was supported by an influential party of Texans. Lew Wallace, *Autobiography*, 102, Mr. James G. Blaine later said concerning the Mexican War: "It was a wiser policy to annex Texas and accept the issue of immediate war with Mexico, than to leave Texas in nominal independence to involve us probably in ultimate war with England. The history of subsequent events has entirely vindicated the wisdom, courage, and statesmanship with which the Democratic party dealt with this question in 1844."

⁶ Approved, May 13, 1846.

Whereas, The territory of our common country has been invaded, and the blood of our citizens has been shed upon our own soil by a hostile force from the Republic of Mexico after repeated attempts on the part of the United States for an honorable settlement of all existing differences with that power, which have been met only with indifference and contempt; and

Whereas, By an act of the Congress of the United States entitled "An Act providing for the prosecution of the existing war between the United States and the Republic of Mexico," approved on the 13th of the present month, the President of the United States is authorized, in addition to other provisions therein contained for the prosecution of said war to a speedy and successful termination, to call for and accept the services of any number of volunteers, not exceeding 50,000, either as cavalry, artillery, infantry or riflemen; and

Whereas, By a communication from the Secretary of War, dated the 16th inst., received late last evening, and enclosing a copy of the aforesaid act, the undersigned is requested on the part of the President to cause to be organized at the earliest practicable period, for the aforesaid service, three regiments of volunteers, to be infantry or riflemen, and to designate some convenient place of rendezvous for moving towards Mexico, for the several companies, as fast as they shall be organized, where they will be further organized into regiments preparatory to moving towards Mexico; said companies and regiments to be clothed, armed, organized, officered, inspected and mustered into the service, according to the regulations contained in the subjoined memorandum, as gathered from the aforesaid requisition and act of Congress;

Now *therefore*, I James Whitcomb, Governor of the State of Indiana, do issue this my proclamation, appealing to the citizens of our United States, by their love of country and its noble institutions, by their sense of the wanton and unprovoked invasion of our territory and the effusion of kindred blood by a foreign and perfidious foe, by their desire to emulate the deeds of noble daring which have so proudly distinguished the older members of our confederacy, in our earlier history; and by their desire to adopt the best means under the favor of divine Providence, for a speedy termination of the war, and an early restoration of peace, to form themselves into volunteer companies with all dispatch, for the aforesaid service, and to report forthwith to this Department the fact of their organization, so that early orders may be given them to march to New Albany, in this State, which is hereby designated as the place of rendezvous, preparatory to moving towards Mexico.

THE MILITARY CONDITION OF INDIANA IN 1846

At the outbreak of the Mexican War the martial spirit of the people of Indiana was at low ebb. Previous to its admission as a State, the militia of Indiana had been kept in excellent condition, but with the passing of the War of 1812 and of Indian troubles, interest in military affairs waned. Few

of the generation then living had ever been stirred by the trampling of the war horse or seen the bloody field of battle. During the long years of quiet all had turned to the pursuits of peace. Without war it was hard to induce the people to return to a military organization. Notwithstanding the gradual paralysis of the general system, the martial spirit was not entirely extinguished. This much was evident from the existence of a number of companies of independent militia and a few regiments of district militia. But in these it had become almost impossible to revive military discipline unless some exigency demanded active service.

By an act of 1843 the citizens liable to military duty could form volunteer companies whenever they saw fit. Each company was to consist of not less than thirty-two rank and file, and every member enrolled was liable for duty for six years if he remained a citizen of the county in which he enrolled.⁷ Although this law still remained on the statute books, by 1846 its existence was practically unknown. The State had no organized militia, and no military equipment worthy of notice. The "cornstalk"⁸ militia had become a joke. The adjutant-general was a mere title holder, who drew one hundred dollars per annum and provided his own fuel and stationery. He was usually ignorant of the requirements of his office. The militia officers had become purely nominal, without duties.

The adjutant-general realized the sad condition of affairs and, in 1845, candidly stated that his report would be brief, for it was impossible for the few general officers who held commissions to furnish him with any other data for a report save now and then the return of an election.⁹

A commission had been appointed by the General Assembly in 1843 to investigate the condition of military affairs. By an act of congress 1808 a sum was appropriated, to be distributed among the States according to the numerical military strength of each. Indiana was still drawing on the basis of 1832, because the adjutant-general had not been able to report Indiana's strength since then, for the good reason that

⁷ *Indiana State Laws*, 1843. 17, Chapter VII.

⁸ So called because they frequently used cornstalks instead of guns on drill, and wore corn tassels in their caps as distinctive dress.

⁹ Report of Adjutant-General Reynolds to Governor, 1845. *Documentary Journal*, 1845, part II, 37.

the commandants of divisions and brigades had not reported to him. Under the apportionment of 1832, Indiana's quota of arms in 1845 was 430 muskets, costing about thirteen or fourteen dollars each. Since the population had more than doubled, under a correct return the State should have received 930 muskets, or about \$13,020 worth. The loss in value of arms to the State in ten years totaled approximately \$70,000.¹⁰ A law of 1842 required bonds for the security of the arms in possession of the State and the adjutant-general was having a difficult task collecting the arms scattered throughout Indiana.¹¹ From nine companies, 753 arms, yagers, Hall's rifles, muskets, swords, pistols, etc., were collected, for which no bonds were ever given, and 426 bonded pieces were called in. Three hundred and fifty-six firearms were given out under bond to twelve companies. In the armory there were 398 firearms and at Madison about 280 more.¹² These arms constituted the entire equipment of the State.

Although thus poorly equipped in the materials for making war, Indiana was fortunate in having, in the position of adjutant-general, a man who, in case of necessity, could accomplish things. David Reynolds was a pleasant-appearing man, "stout, rubicund and affable." He had never yet appeared in uniform. He knew nothing military, and made no pretensions to such knowledge.¹³ He didn't even appreciate his title. Yet he was intelligent and willing to learn, possessed courage, some executive ability, common sense, and was a tireless worker. When the call for volunteers was issued and many anxious young men called upon General Reynolds for information, they found him in a flustered condition, much like an old hen unexpectedly visited by a hawk.¹⁴ There were a hundred things to be done and no one who knew exactly how to do them. Blanks were to be prepared; books had to be opened and kept; things that would have been done long before but for the lack of needful appropriation. Like the inexperience

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Jan. 8, 1846, the adjutant-general received a circular from the war department calling his attention to the importance of reporting, according to act of congress, March 2, 1803, the returns of the militia of the state. *Documentary Journal*, 1845, II, 45.

¹² Report of Quartermaster, 1845. *Doc. Jr.*, 1845, II, 38.

¹³ Wallace, *Autobiography*, 108.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

of the Governor, that of General Reynolds heightened the confusion of the staff officers. Indiana was called upon to raise three regiments. The business was entirely new; there were no forms or precedents to be followed.

In this work Governor Whitcomb gave what assistance he could, but raising a volunteer army was entirely out of his line of work. James Whitcomb was a lover of books, and always kept a useful library about him. When not busy he delighted in driving away care with the music of the violin, on which he was no mean performer. The Governor was also a smoker, and blowing smoke rings did not seem to interfere with his thinking. His greatest hobby was smoking a cigar to its smallest dimensions. To accomplish this he often thrust a knife blade into the stump, and was even known to use a pin for this purpose. Although a statesman of ability, James Whitcomb was not a soldier. But he rose to the demands of the occasion to the best of his ability.

FILLING THE QUOTA

It was at once evident that the real problem would not consist in securing the men required for Indiana's quota, but in organizing and equipping the volunteers. The war spirit took hold and spread throughout the State in a remarkably short time. Stirring mass meetings were held in the towns and cities. At Indianapolis, May 22, the citizens met at the court house. The Governor's proclamation and the acts of congress on the war were read. Resolutions were drawn up to the effect that, in any conflict involving the national honor, the people of the West, without regard to political distinction, would be found united as one man, zealously supporting the government of their country and rallying around the national flag. In the crisis they were in favor of prompt and energetic action, and heartily approved of the recommendation of the President that a large and overpowering force be immediately sent to the seat of war as the best means of bringing the conflict with Mexico to a speedy termination. Any appeal to patriotism would be met with promptness and cheerfulness. They expected congress to make ample provisions for carrying the war into the enemy's country, and hoped to see "the star-spangled banner" planted in the City

of Mexico on the "Halls of the Montezumas," as the best mode of securing an honorable peace. In the opinion of the people the time had come when every consideration of duty and patriotism required them to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of their country.¹⁵

At Madison, May 20, a similar meeting was held. A large number of the citizens met at the court house and listened to an address by General Milton Stapp.¹⁶ The *Madison Banner* was much elated, and spoke of the spirit shown in the following vein: "We are now all Whigs and all Democrats. We are American citizens, and as such, right or wrong, we are for our country. It is not the time to cavil about party." These are typical examples of the meetings held in all parts of the State.

Recruiting had been going on ever since the first week in February, when Lieutenant Love of the United States Dragoons began in Indianapolis.¹⁷ In Madison Captain Abram Hendricks and Lieutenant Hughes rapidly filled up their company for the Sixteenth Infantry, under the command of Colonel J. W. Tibbeths.

When the assignment of three regiments of volunteers came to Indiana, recruiting began in earnest. Many of the independent militia companies enrolled just as they were. Scores of young men took it upon themselves to raise companies, hoping to be rewarded for their trouble with the captaincy. One of these young men who raised a company was Lew Wallace, later a major-general in the Civil War. When the rumor came to Indianapolis that the government had issued a call for troops, he determined to go to Mexico. There was much talk of volunteering around the capitol. Wallace interviewed members of the "Greys" and "Arabs," arguing that the term, one year, was short. Some replied earnestly, as though experienced, that there was plenty of time in which to die. So he resolved to open a recruiting office himself. Taking a room on Washington street, he hired a drummer and a fifer. Outside he hung a flag and a four-sided transparency, inscribed "For Mexico, Fall In." When

¹⁵ *Madison Courier*, May 30, 1846.

¹⁶ *Indiana Democrat*, May 22, 1846.

¹⁷ *Indiana State Journal*, Feb. 8, 1847.

he started a parade a dozen or more men fell in on the first round. The company was soon filled. James P. Drake was made captain, John McDougal, first lieutenant, and Wallace, second lieutenant. So it was all over the State. The main cause for anxiety on the part of those raising companies was not whether they would get enough men to fill them, but whether they would get them reported to the adjutant-general before the thirty companies required were already selected.

Nor was the war spirit confined to the men of the State. The women were deeply agitated and, besides helping outfit the volunteers and provide for their material wants, they added much to the glamor and romance of going to war. More than one would-be hero found it easier to go to war because it was expected of him, and he more or less correctly surmised that a military reputation would weigh heavily in his favor. The Ladies' Aid societies and other organizations all competed with each other and those of other towns in making for their relatives and friends fine-looking and serviceable uniforms, beautiful banners, and supplying them with many little comforts that would be useful in a campaign far from home. It took the ladies of Madison only from Wednesday, June 3, till Saturday to supply William Ford's company with uniforms. But the present into which the women put their best efforts and all their talent was always the company banner. The stars and stripes, hand sewn in silk, were presented with impressive ceremony to all the companies, and they vowed to carry them to victory and glory.

June 10, just nineteen days after the call for volunteers was issued, the thirtieth and last company of volunteers was accepted and commissioned. One week later twenty extra companies had reports at the adjutant-general's office.¹⁸ Ohio, with three times the population of Indiana and wealthier in proportion, was called upon for the same number of volunteers and had two days the start of Indiana. Yet Indiana's quota was ready as soon as that of her neighbor.

The facilities for travel and transportation in Indiana in 1846 were meager. With the exception of the Michigan

¹⁸ Some of the most ambitious companies repaired to the rendezvous hoping to get a place by the failure of some accepted company to turn up by the appointed time. Captain William M. McCarty's company of Brookville was one of these.

road, the Lafayette and Jeffersonville turnpike and the Old Vincennes and New Albany road, the highways of the State were in poor condition. There was but one railroad, and this ran from Madison north only to Edinburg. The volunteers from all over the central and northern parts of the State converged toward this point. As a rule they had no trouble getting patriotic farmers to take them in their wagons. With the frolic and picnic-like gaiety of the departure from their home towns was mixed enough uncertainty and realization of hardships to come, to impart a serious vein to the farewells. At most of the towns it seemed that the whole country turned out to see "the boys" leave. Thousands shook hands as if they never expected to see them return. From Edinburg the men slowly crept down the rails to Madison, and from there went down the river or walked to "Old Fort Clark," three miles above New Albany.

The organization of the regiments and the resulting problem of debts incurred in raising them brought forth the best efforts of the State officials. May 20 the Governor wrote to the Secretary of War and inquired whether loans advanced for aiding the volunteers would likely be repaid by the United States government. Five days later he sent a circular to the banks in the State, asking them to make loans to help in clothing the volunteers. The Indianapolis branch answered with an advance of \$10,000. The Madison branch, by a unanimous vote of the directors, placed \$10,000 at the disposal of the Governor, should he find use for this sum in facilitating the movement of Indiana volunteers, and the Lawrenceburg branch resolved to honor the draft of Governor Whitcomb to the extent of a like amount.¹⁹ The Vincennes, Terre Haute and South Bend branches signified their desire, but inability, to aid in the good work.

The first order for the organization of the volunteers corps was issued by the Governor about the middle of May.²⁰ The volunteers were to furnish their own clothing and to serve twelve months. With the exception of clothing and pay, they were to be placed on the same footing with similar corps of the regular army. A volunteer company was limited to eighty

¹⁹ New Albany, Evansville, Fort Wayne, and Lafayette also responded favorably.

²⁰ May 13.

privates. In other respects the organization did not differ from that of the United States army. A company consisted of one captain, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, four sergeants, four corporals, two musicians and eighty privates. The commissioned officers of each company were to be elected after the company was full, by a majority of the members present, at a time and place designated by the majority of the company. The judges and clerks were to certify the election to the adjutant-general. The regimental commissioned officers were to be elected in the same way. The volunteers were to have the same pay and allowances as the regulars.²¹ By a supplemental act of congress June 4, 1846, the pay of the volunteers was raised to ten dollars per month, with three dollars and a half in lieu of clothing. The adjutant-general suggested that, in the way of clothing, each man should have for service uniform a cloth or forage cap, a gray mixed or sky blue jeans hunter's frock coat, and pantaloons without straps. A dress or parade uniform was not required.

POLITICS AT CAMP CLARK

Camp Clark, or Camp Whitcomb, as it was sometimes called, was about midway between the cities of New Albany and Jeffersonville. Here, two generations before, George Rogers Clark and his men had received their reward for valiant service to Virginia and the States. The volunteer companies all arrived in due time. Colonel Churchill, inspector-general of the United States army, was sent to Indiana to inspect and muster in the troops. The romance and attractiveness of war first began to dim at Camp Clark. The weather was hot, the only water to be had was dirty river water and there were the usual hitches in the commissary department. Added to these physical discomforts was a system of petty politics and political scheming which got most of the volunteers in a very bad humor. Governor Whitcomb and Lieutenant-Governor Paris C. Dunning were on hand to see that their favorites were well taken care of. A ticket or "slate" was prepared in each of the regiments, for the field officers. Many of the volunteers were puzzled to

²¹ Governor Whitcomb's Orders; by act of congress of May 13, 1848.

find in the First Regiment, no contest for the positions and no scratching of the ballots. Their experience was too limited to enable them to comprehend such a simple expedient as a "slate". The candidates favorable to the State powers were successful in every instance. Aided by the Governor's influence, William A. Bowles, who did more in the war to bring disgrace upon the State than all her volunteers, finally won the contested election for the colonelcy of the Second. It was also charged that the President handed out commissions in the army in exchange for votes against the Wilmot Proviso.²² Most of the dirty intriguing at Camp Clark fell to the lot of Paris C. Dunning. He was often referred to as the "Big Dog" around the camp.²³

The larger slate of the day was as follows: Brigadier-general, Joseph Lane (Dem.); colonel of First regiment, James P. Drake (Dem.); colonel of Second, William A. Bowles (Dem.); colonel of Third, James H. Lane (Dem.). Evidently someone knew how to provide opportunities for military reputations and political careers.²⁴

The appointment of brigadier-general by the President was sought by many western members of congress as a prize for their constituents. Approximately fifty names had been handed in. Congressman Robert Dale Owen, in whose district Lane resided, did not seem to manifest much interest in the appointment, and probably would not have submitted a name but for the suggestion of one of the Indiana senators.²⁵ Owen said he had not offered a candidate, as there were no candidates from his district, but if it were proper to name one he would submit the name of "Joe" Lane. President Polk made the appointment. He told Owen that he hoped he had considered his man well, as the position was a responsible one. Owen replied that he knew nothing of Lane's military talent, but that he had those elements of character which, in times of difficulty, made men rally instinctively around him as a leader. That had been the case in early days, when lawless men infested the river border. Had all the officers of Indiana

²² *Indiana Journal*, April 2, 1846.

²³ *Wabash Express, State Journal*, July 15, 1847.

²⁴ Jos. H. Lane was first elected colonel of the Second regiment, but that office was left open by his appointment to brigadier-generalship.

²⁵ *Indiana Sentinel*, May 17, 1848.

performed their duty as did General Lane there would have been little complaint.

The election of the regimental officers took place June 24. For the field officers of the First regiment there was but one ticket. The names were: Colonel James P. Drake, of Indianapolis; lieutenant-colonel, Christopher C. Nave, of Danville; major, Henry S. Lane, of Crawfordsville. There was no regular opposition to Drake and the two other men had a clear field. Not one of these officers could have carried his company through the manual of arms.²⁶

Colonel Drake, an innkeeper at Indianapolis, a politician and a good-natured individual, perhaps too much so, had an excellent presence on horseback, and was willing to learn the tactics. In three months he had mastered the "School of the Battalion," by Scott, and had his command well drilled and disciplined.

Command and responsibilities of war never seemed to fit upon the shoulders of Major Henry S. Lane. Successful as a lawyer and in politics, he was careless as a soldier. On parade he often appeared with his sword and belt in his hand, and he hated a horse. On the march his saddle was always at the disposal of the sick and the footsore. For a shirk Major Lane had the eyes of a hawk. In the service he was reserved and dignified, and desired the respect rather than the fear of the volunteers. Lane was a man of honor and brave to a fault. He was so liked by his regiment that his indifference to military forms, though laughed at, was forgiven and tolerated.

The company officers of the First were perhaps above the average ability, and among them were to be found some remarkable men.²⁷ At the end of six months the First Indiana could very well have been depended upon to give a good account of itself under the most adverse circumstances. Few new military commands ever saw less of the glory of war and more of its monotony and hardships and stood up so well under it all as did this regiment.

The Ohio regiment (recruited along the Ohio), or what was soon known as the Third Indiana, selected as its officers:

²⁶ The officers of the First were not unique when it came to this test. Wallace, *Autobiography*. 116.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

James H. Lane, colonel; William McCarty, lieutenant-colonel, and Willis A. Gorman, of Bloomington, major. The Wabash, or Western, regiment was the least successful in its selection of officers. Joseph Lane, of Vanderburgh, was first chosen colonel, but received his appointment as brigadier-general before the troops left New Albany. An election was ordered to fill the vacancy of colonel in the Second. Captain W. L. Sanderson, of the New Albany Spencer Greys, received the highest vote, but no return was made of the votes of one of the companies. Captain William A. Bowles, of Orange county, had the largest vote in the nine remaining companies. Bowles did not succeed in getting his commission until a new election had been held, at Brazos, Santiago.

In all three regiments the only Whigs elected were Major Henry S. Lane and Lieutenant-Colonel C. C. Nave, of the First. There was considerable protest over this preponderance of Democrats among the officers. There were charges and denials of political intrigue. The Whigs charged the Democrats with selfish motives and the Democrats recriminated upon the Whigs.²⁸

July 5, rations were issued to the troops and the accoutrements assembled. With colors flying and the strains of "Yankee Doodle" floating on the air the First boarded the steamboats Cincinnati and Grace Darling. Some few of the men wore sober countenances. They probably sensed the hardships that lay before them. The men had been at Camp Clark two weeks. In spite of the rather unsanitary conditions, most were in excellent health.

The Second and Third regiments were to leave at intervals of two days, but the Second did not take the boats until July 11. The people of New Albany and vicinity turned out in force to bid their friends farewell. The volunteers kept their eyes on the white dresses and waving handkerchiefs on shore until the boat rounded the bend in the river, then turned their attention to the comforts of the voyage.

²⁸ For an account of the dirty, petty politics at Camp Clark, see Paris Dunning's letter in his own defense. *State Journal*, Nov. 20, 1846, also letter of Thomas O'Neal, *Journal*, Dec. 15, 1846.

THE TRIP TO MEXICO

The trip down the river was not unpleasant. The men were in good spirits and enjoyed themselves in an orderly way. Music and the dance were the commonest diversions. Some of the men had not gone far before they began to feel the touch of military aristocracy, even in a body of volunteers. "Those who hold the commissions get the best pay, the best fare and all the honor. The private performs the work and endures all the privation."²⁹ Some of the companies drew up and signed resolutions indicative of their disapprobation of the course of Governor Whitcomb and his advisors in officering and forming the regiments.

Once past the beautiful bluffs of the Ohio the boats rode forth on the broad Mississippi, with its low-lying banks. Even this ugly and monotonous scenery was beautiful in the eyes of many a zealous youth. They were going to a land rich in history; to the land of Montezuma and Cortez, to campaign through palmetto lands, take cities, fight battles and become heroes.

At New Orleans the volunteers landed below the city, to wait for ships to carry them across the gulf. Here the men were introduced to the soldier's life without the frills. Through mismanagement of the officers the troops were compelled to pitch their tents on a stretch of blubbery slime. There was not enough dry land for a bed. Straw and brush were unattainable, and the ooze went through the army blanket much as water goes through a sieve. Here the men lay, or rather wallowed, for four days. Some of the boys made more or less cutting remarks about General Andrew Jackson for selecting such a site for one of his country's greatest battles. But for some fiery spirits the fact that they were on the scene of the Battle of New Orleans was enough, and, with an old negro peddler for a guide, they explored the field, caring little for the mud and slime.

At last, on July 17 and 18, the ships arrived to carry the troops across the gulf. The men were crowded into these boats pretty much like cattle. Five companies of the Second were economically stowed aboard the Governor Davis. Five

²⁹ Benjamin F. Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*. 11.

more were put on the Flavio. The fare was rough and of inferior quality, and the men, accustomed to being well fed, had a hard time stomaching it. The chief ration consisted of "some stuff called smoked meat, that was side of hog, half liquid and half solid. When a piece was picked up something like lard oil oozed out."³⁰ This had been taken on at New Albany. The bread supply was also of a low grade. Sugar and coffee were to be had, but there were only two cooking fires for the five companies. Sleeping accommodations were still worse. The lower quarters of most of the boats were so full of freight that the men had little or no room to sleep. Those who found room were almost suffocated. The most desirable place was the upper deck. Here the men were frequently disturbed by the sailors, as they managed the boat, but they reasoned that it was better to be stepped upon than smothered.

The sea was rough and, as this was the first sea experience of most of the Hoosiers, wholesale seasickness resulted. The rain contributed to the general gloom and low spirits of the men.³¹ In one of the ships two hundred men were stowed in a hold four and one-half feet deep. In addition to the volunteers, the crew had to sleep in that hold on the warm nights, with hatches down, a heavy sea running and no air holes. They had to live on coffee, slop-fed pork and dry crackers. "Half the men were seasick and spewing all about you; sometime you would find yourself eating and someone close by would let slip on your dinner and on your clothes."³² The sailors were kind to the sick, and tried to find places for them. The officers were well fed with chicken, beef, pork, potatoes, etc.

As the weather cleared and the sea calmed down the voyage grew more tolerable, and occasionally even enjoyable. The men of the Second organized a debating society on their boat. The soldier members of the New Albany Caliopean Society served as a nucleus, and around this they gathered new mem-

³⁰ Letter from a Fountain Rifleman, *Indiana Sentinel*, Aug. 26, 1846.

³¹ "The crowd, confusion, dirt, the continual heaving of the vessel, the dismal woe-begone countenances of the companions are well calculated to fill the mind with reckless despondency." Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*. Note of July 22-23, 1846, p. 14.

³² Letter from one of Dearborn county Volunteers, *Brookville American*, Aug. 21, 1846. This boat was eleven days crossing the gulf.

bers of talent. Many grave and powerful speeches were made. One of the questions discussed in a masterly fashion was, "Should the pay of the volunteers be increased?" The arguments on both sides were unanswerable, and consequently unanswered. The debates ended early and were followed by music. The captain of the Spencer Greys captured a young shark, and the men were treated to chowder. In somewhat better humor, they passed the time reading Shakespeare and Headley's *Napoleon* to each other. On one of the boats of the First regiment an enormous turtle was captured. It was laid, back down, on the deck under a tarpaulin. Twice each day the cook resorted to it to supply the officers' mess with soup and steak, and when the men landed, it was still alive.

The beautiful semi-tropical nights were very impressive. The moonlight was of such a whiteness as to dim the stars. Sailing vessels silently passing, like spectres in the night, never failed to inspire the men with awe.

The mouldy blankets and new regimentals were dried in the sea breeze and the mud of the lower Mississippi beaten out. The damage due to seasickness was not so readily repaired. On the second night out the lights of Brazos were sighted. All of the boats except one made Brazos in three days, but this one, driven out of its path by storm, took eleven days to cross the gulf.³³

AFFAIRS IN INDIANA TO THE END OF 1846

Now that the volunteers had been sent to the front, the State turned to its task of caring for their families and raising money to defray the cost of organizing them. As a rule, those who had been dependent for support upon the men who had gone to Mexico, were taken care of by the community in which they lived. Sometimes this assistance was given in an organized fashion, more often by individuals. In Clay county the citizens held a meeting at Bowling Green and resolved to provide for all wants of families of volunteers, and in case of widows, to provide for them and the education of their

³³ The boat carrying the Crawfordsville and Peru companies of the 1st regiment was wrecked on Padros island. Wallace says that it took Major Gorman and two companies of the 3d fourteen days to cross the gulf. Letter of July 26. *State Journal*, Aug. 26.

children until the United States government did so. The word of honor of twelve responsible citizens, whose names were signed, was given to this pledge.

The taxes on the property of the absent soldiers worked some hardships. Real estate was put up for sale in several instances. Even the poll taxes were pushed. The people generally favored an extension of the time limit for the volunteers to January, 1848. An act was passed in January, 1847, providing that the volunteers then in the service or discharged, and who had poll taxes standing against them, be exempted. It also provided that the county treasurers list the county and State taxes of the volunteers and send them to the State treasurer, who was to credit them and enter the receipt on the books.

As winter came on the folks at home did not forget to send to the men in Mexico all the little necessities that would help add to the comforts of a campaign in chilly weather. Shoes, shirts, socks, comforts, etc., were prepared and sent to the front. The ladies of Madison were especially industrious in this work.

December 4, Adjutant-General Reynolds submitted his report to the Governor. In it he told of the unpreparedness of the State, the sudden call for volunteers, the failure of congress, in the excitement of the moment, to furnish in advance the means with which to pay their expenses, the response of the banks, and the successful effort of the State to fill and equip its quota on time. The total amount drawn from the banks by the Governor for transporting the volunteers was \$5,218.78, of which \$3,718.78 was drawn from the Indianapolis branch and \$1,500 from that at Madison. The whole amount drawn was applied except \$47.78, which was returned to Madison.³⁴ The only payment made by the United States to the volunteers before they left Indiana was for clothing, and no part of that was retained to pay the money advanced for other purposes unless with their own consent. Measures had been taken by Postmaster-General Lane to have the balance due the branches at Indianapolis, Madison and Fort Wayne retained out of funds advanced by the United States for the expenses of the volunteers. But as

³⁴ Governor's Message, Dec. 8, 1846.

some of this would never be received on account of death, discharge before payment, etc., and to avoid delay and cut down interest, the Governor recommended an early appropriation to cover the amount due.³⁵

The Governor also recommended an increase in the adjutant-general's salary. The organizing of the volunteers had taken much of the time of General Reynolds from his regular vocation. No clerical assistance had been given him, and he had paid his own travelling expenses to and from Camp Clark on different occasions.

In December the regiment of United States mounted riflemen assembled at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. About 300 of the mounted riflemen, or more than one-third of the regiment, were recruited in Indiana. The companies of Captain Crittenden³⁶ (Company E), Simonson (B), and Tucker (K), were composed entirely of Indianians. The principal arms of the riflemen consisted of a saber and rifle. The latter, with its brass-mounted walnut stock, thirty-two-inch barrel, percussion lock and steel ramrod, was an excellent and handsome piece of work for that time, and much prized by the men.

Captain Abraham Hendricks' company for the Sixteenth United States infantry was raised in and around Madison. This was the third company for Madison, and gave some justification to the claim of the little city that it had produced more soldiers than any place of its size in the United States. Captain Hendricks' company left for Mexico early in April, 1847.³⁷

THE INDIANA TROOPS IN MEXICO

About sunset, July 26, the boats bearing the Indiana volunteers reached Brazos, Santiago. Some of the men of the Second were seated astern, smoking and enjoying a scene unlike anything they had ever witnessed before. The sky was gorgeous and the sun, like a fiery ball, slowly approached the liquid blue into which it suddenly dropped. Long streamers of dark mist shot upwards towards the clouds above. Everything was sublimely beautiful. The sea breeze and rocking of the boat contributed to the effect. At noon

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ This company was recruited by Lieutenant Tipton at Logansport.

³⁷ *Madison Courier*, April 10, 1847.

of the 27th most of the Second and Third regiments landed, and toward evening they pitched their tents and ate supper. Many of the men proceeded immediately to the shore for a sea bath. It was the first experience of the kind for most of the Hoosiers, and thus refreshed, they were almost ready to forget the inconveniences of the trip across the gulf.

The island of Brazos de Santiago was a waste of sand dunes, about three and one-half miles wide. A narrow inlet, not much larger than a canal, led into the bay behind, which was several miles across. On the farther side of the bay was a white tower, the lighthouse on Point Isabel, Taylor's base of operations against Matamoras. A chain of shifting sand dunes was the only scenery revealed as far as the eyes could reach. The soil was naked save for a scanty vine here and there. A solitary hut half buried by the sand and surrounded by drying hides was the only dwelling in sight. There was no town, no grass, not even a tree. This rather barren spot sorely disappointed those who had expected pleasant scenes for fighting.¹

There were close to five thousand troops camped at Brazos. The diarrhea and measles broke out, and unfitted scores for service. The Indiana troops did not suffer so badly at this time as did those from Kentucky. Among the latter there were hardly enough well to care for the sick.² The water, which was slightly salt, was blamed for these diseases, but very likely the food was the main cause. As a strong sea breeze swept the island the heat was not noticed.

The men soon found that they could not live as they had been accustomed all their lives. By common consent, shaving was abandoned. The laundering methods which were used

¹ Lew Wallace in a letter to the *Journal*, July 26, 1846, described Brazos: "The island on which we are encamped is but a vast heap of sand rolled up by the continued flux and reflux of the tide. It is large and roomy but barren and desolate. There is not a tree or a shrub visible. Over it the wind sweeps without obstruction, sprinkling food, eyes, ears, etc., with sand. 'Middling' we serve with a most delightful gusto and from tables as beautifully if not as scientifically greased as the best mahogany we rise strong and healthy, equally ready for a drill, a footrace, or a fight. We make bean soup, fry hot fritters, boil live crabs, swallow watery oysters and while devouring them summon a little empty self congratulation to assist us in chuckling when we think how the folks at home would relish our situation."

² *Indiana Democrat*, Aug. 28, 1846.

did not bring results at all comparable to those the women obtained at home.

The usual number of camp followers of the pedlar class followed the small army. They set up all kinds of shops, hucksters and gambling houses. The sutlers had a monopoly of all the little luxuries and of many necessities, and got monopoly prices for their wares. Ice water was twelve and one-half cents per glass, and ice thirty cents per pound. Writing paper (foolscap) was five cents per sheet; flour, ten cents per pound; tobacco, \$1.50, and bacon, twenty cents; and tin-cups were twenty-five cents each.

The First and Third regiments left July 30 for the mouth of the Rio Grande, eight miles down the beach from Brazos. The Second expected to leave the next day for Barita, farther up the river. On the 30th the Second held another election, to fill the vacancy left by the promotion of Colonel Joseph Lane to the command of the Indiana brigade. William A. Bowles (captain) was elected by about one hundred majority.³ The result was not altogether satisfactory to the minority. It seems that Captain Sanderson had been honestly elected at New Albany, but the loss of the returns from one of the companies broke the election. It was evident to all that Colonel Bowles was not a man fitted for military command. Commenting on his election, a member of the Second said: "How we have been gulled and led about by a set of political demagogues, who, regardless of the fearful responsibility, have forced themselves into positions they possess no qualifications to fill, with a hope thereby to promote their future political aggrandizement. O, shame on such patriotism!"⁴

THE VOLUNTEERS AT CAMP BELKNAP

The Second and Third regiments left Brazos for Barita, nine miles by land and sixteen by water, above the mouth of the Rio Grande, on August 3.⁵ They pitched their tents opposite Barita, and, in honor of the inspector-general named their place Camp Belknap, which became General Lane's

³ W. S. Spicely now became first lieutenant and John Gullett, second lieutenant.

⁴ B. F. Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*. 21.

⁵ General Taylor left Matamoras for Camargo, Aug. 5, with a few regulars and one-half the Texas Rangers.

headquarters. Clearing the chaparral round about was troublesome work, as not only all the bushes had thorns, but all the insects as well. The encampment was beautifully situated on a grassy ridge. In front lay the Rio Grande and Barita, while in the rear the wide plain was besprinkled with salt lakes. The situation was not very desirable, however. The mouldy crackers and fat bacon had to be lugged through the swamps and thorns, and the rain did its part. The clear nights and bright skies of the "Sunny South" were yet to be experienced.

Sometimes the men found it hard to bear the ignorance and inattention of the field officers. Perhaps their ignorance was not always to blame for badly selected ground and frequent want of full rations, but certainly they were the ones to whom the soldiers looked for redress of grievances. Other regiments near by, better officered, fared better, and the Indiana volunteers were not long becoming aware of this fact. Members of the Second visited another corps and were surprised to find that for some time they had been drawing excellent flour, good pickles and molasses. This was the first time the men of the First became aware of the fact that molasses could be obtained except from the sutlers, at seventy-five cents a quart.

One of the congenial groups in the Second at Camp Belknap was the Spencer Greys of New Albany. These men got along together very well and, as a rule, were a jolly set. Their entertainments not only succeeded with themselves, but they attracted other companies with their music and dances. Whether carrying river water in camp kettles, across the swamps, waist deep, or caring for their accoutrements, these boys usually went after it singing and speech-making.

The daily program at Camp Belknap was somewhat as follows: At daybreak the troops were aroused by reveille and had company or squad drill for two hours, after which eight men and a sergeant or corporal from each company were detailed for guard. Company drill came again at four o'clock and regimental at five. The intervals between were occupied in getting wood, water and provisions, and cooking, washing, and caring for the camp. Hunting parties sometimes went

out and killed fowls, cattle, wolves and snakes. One of the messes served a seven-foot rattlesnake for dinner.

By October time began to drag heavily on the Second, which was still waiting for orders. Colonel Lane's regiment (the Third) had moved up to Palo Alto, seven miles from Matamoras.⁶ General Lane still drilled the Second, as its colonels were both sick and one, Colonel Bowles, had gone home. The evil results of inaction were as dangerous and as much to be feared as battle. The moral standards of all were affected, and some seemed to have suffered a total loss of moral principle. The young men, when at home, were more or less moral from habit, but camp life with its hardships and drudgery and absence of refining features, brought out all traits of character, the bad often quicker than the good.

After the rainy season was past the nights became very pleasant. The moonlight was clear enough to read by. The idle soldiers let their minds and imaginations wander back to home and its joys. Then came refreshing slumbers, interrupted only by the musical mosquitos and industrious ants.⁷ Sanitary conditions were improved with cooler weather, and but few were confined to the tents.

Early in November quite an excitement stirred the camp as the result of orders received by General Lane to hold the regiment ready to march at an hour's notice. After that he drilled it twice a day. The prospect of leaving so elated the men that they indulged in a number of musicals and jollifications, Mexican style. Some of the boys had picked up a little Spanish and some Mexican dances, and furnished amusement free of charge.

The Second remained in darkness as to its future movements, but hoped to move toward Tampico, to active service and fame. General R. Patterson assured the Indiana men that it was no mark of disrespect to Indiana troops that they had not been pushed forward, nor would it affect their reputation.

By the end of the month the Tampico fever raged higher than ever. The general impression was that the regiment would leave within a week. At last, December 3, came the

⁶ The Third started for Saltillo, Dec. 9.

⁷ Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*. 34.

long-awaited order to embark on the first boat for Camargo, and thence to Monterey. The joyous excitement gave way in a celebration lasting most of the night. Several companies left immediately, leaving three to take the next boat. On the night of the 6th these companies had a peculiar adventure. They were disturbed by what they thought was the enemy's bugle. They were ordered to lie near their arms, and slept fitfully until about 2:00 A. M., when they heard the call "to arms, to arms!" Much excitement and rushing about ensued. All fell into line and marched steadily, determining to win glory, and thinking of the praise they would receive. Anxiously, they awaited the return of the detachment. After many agonizing minutes it returned and reported to the general. He dismissed the men, saying that their only enemies, the wolves, had retired to the chaparral. Crestfallen, the men returned to their tents. Very few jokes were sprung at this time.

December 10 found Camp Belknap deserted. The place that a few months previous had contained 8,000 souls was without an inhabitant. There was one regret mixed with the pleasure of leaving Camp Belknap. There, the volunteers could at least hear from home regularly, while further up the river the service would be doubtful.

The three companies which were last to leave were packed on the stamer Whiteville. The captain would not let the men sleep on the boiler deck, but placed them all in the boiler-room. This angered the men thoroughly, and was the occasion for an outburst against the abuses suffered.

Behold the sacrifices of the soldier. He forfeits his self-respect, sense of right and wrong, his liberty of speech, his freedom of action and his rank in society. All this for the public good. And what is his reward? One ration per day, seven dollars per month, and the cold indifference of the hireling citizen and of the avaricious and ambitious officer. How many such officers, when at home, in the newspaper articles or public orations, give vent to fires of eloquence and patriotism. They would shed the last drop of blood for their dear country, but seem mighty unwilling to shed the first drop.⁸

The Second was all encamped at Camargo by December 9, when it proceeded to break and shoe mules for a pack train.

⁸ Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*. 42.

THE FIRST AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIO GRANDE

The First arrived at the encampment near Barita, August 2, as did all the Indiana volunteers, and expected to remain there a few weeks before receiving marching orders for Camargo and Monterey. Great was their surprise and dismay when they were ordered back to the mouth of the Rio Grande, to guard the rear. Colonel Drake reported the men very sore at this, but said they would try and obey orders.⁹ The order for the First to proceed to Camp Belknap came from Brigadier-General Lane, but the order to go into garrison duty at the mouth of the river came from General Taylor, in headquarters at Matamoras, so there was nothing to do but obey. "Had the men known in advance of the misery and humiliation awaiting them in the Rio Grande camp, despair would have overcome all discipline, and the eight hundred men would have become an ungovernable mob."¹⁰ Lew Wallace says there is not another instance in the American wars of a command so wantonly neglected and brutally mislocated.

The camp at the mouth was inherited from the First Mississippi Regiment under Colonel Jefferson Davis. A sense of desolateness pervaded it on the first night. On the right of the camp, and separating it from the sea were long rows of sand dunes. A few hundred yards to the left was the river. At its mouth it was about two hundred yards wide, very rapid, muddy and full of shrimps which could be seen at any time of the day and every bucket of water had to be strained to keep from them. To the north the camp faced a monotonous stretch of land, level as a floor, treeless, unending, and subject to tidal overflow. Across the river was a Mexican smuggler village nicknamed Bagdad.

The rations, issued three times per week, consisted of beans, coffee, sugar, pickled pork, flour and biscuit, with no vegetables. The biscuits were disk-shaped and alive with brown bugs. They were often the cause of much fun. The soldiers on inspection frequently substituted pieces of them for gunflints.

The nerve-racking monotony which overspread everything

⁹ Letter from Colonel Drake, *Indiana Democrat*, Sept. 11, 1846.

¹⁰ Wallace, *Autobiography*, 123.

was all the worse as it was unrelieved by hope. It was only broken now and then by the chance news which drifted in. The regiment heard of Taylor's operations after leaving Matamoras and of the enemy abandoning Camargo. With a regiment at Matamoras the First felt that it was entirely useless to keep a regiment at the mouth of the Rio Grande. A company would have done just as well.

Then to make life almost unbearable came disease, chronic diarrhea. In after years members of the First shuddered at the name. The river water which the men drank, the spoiled pork called meat, and the bad cooking, which was common, all made the appearance, sooner or later, of this dreaded disease practically inevitable. The symptoms were unmistakable. A man may have been in perfect health when he went into camp, in a few weeks a change came about; his cheeks took on the color of old gunny sacks, under his jaws the skin became flabby, his eyes filmy and sinking, his voice flat and he moved about listlessly. Instead of supporting his gun the gun supported him. All knew that he had been to the surgeon and received an opium pill, the only remedy in the meagre medicinal outfit. Another week and his place was vacant. A mess mate answered for him. There was no need of looking for him in a hospital. Although a fixed post, the camp boasted no hospital and he was to be found, one of six, in a tent nine by nine feet. Under such conditions night did not bring enough coolness to soothe the fever of the day. His only nurses were his companions. They did their best, which often was not very much. In his delirium the victim prayed for some delicacy, for something new to eat. He received the very food which made him sick, bean soup, unleavened slap-jacks, and bacon. Another week and the weakened man was giving all his remaining strength to decency. Then mind and will went down together.¹¹

There were days when two hundred on dress parade was encouraging. The hours of daylight seemed too short to take care of the funerals, so the hours of night received their share. The dead march rendered with fife and muffled drum became a daily occurrence.

After the novelty of watching the sea lost its charm, there

¹¹ Lew Wallace, *Autobiography*, 126.

was nothing to do but speculate on the future of the regiment. Colonel Drake received his share of the blame for existing conditions, yet it was not his fault. He did all in his power to save the well and keep the sick from dying. When the situation became so bad he sent for Major Lane and told him that he was ready to do an unsoldierly thing, go see Taylor at Matamoras without leave. Lane went along and the two men made an earnest plea on behalf of their regiment. They told how their medicines had run out and calls for more had gone unheeded. But General Taylor, hardened to service, paid no heed, and the First remained at the Rio Grande in its misery. Taylor left Matamoras for Monterey in September. The First continued to hope that it would get to go along. A commissariat man gave the death blow, however, when he brought definite news that Drake's Regiment had been left out.

Deaths continued until all the lumber in camp had been used for coffins. Next all the cracker barrel staves and gun boxes were exhausted. After that the only coffin was the blanket. With burial the troubles did not cease. The winds moved the dunes and left the naked corpses exposed. Late in September when the heat became intense, there was not even a bush under which to hide. The only hope for better health lay in cooler weather, which was expected with October. As for any hopes of getting into the war, the First gave up all they had ever had and resigned themselves to fate. Some fully expected to remain at the Rio Grande until the volunteers were discharged.¹² The general sentiment of the regiment was expressed in a letter from J. M. Myers to the Brookville *American* when he said that the men of the First would never get to see Camargo unless they paid their own expenses, for Indiana troops were but seldom called for.

THE INDIANA BRIGADE MOVES TOWARD SALTILLO

After the officers failed to get their troops in on the Tampico expedition, the attention of the Indiana volunteers was turned to a forward movement toward Saltillo. General Patterson issued conditional marching orders to Brigadier-General Lane to proceed with the Indiana Brigade (except

¹² "Sketches in Camp No. 7," by an ex-reporter in Perry, *Indiana in the Mexican War*, 100.

Colonel Drake's regiment which was to remain at the mouth of the Rio Grande) to Monterey as soon as the Tennessee cavalry arrived at Matamoras. Colonel Clark was to inform General Lane of the time of the arrival of the cavalry, but this he neglected to do and there was considerable delay in the march.¹³

The Second and Third regiments as noted above, had already started for Camargo and Monterey.¹⁴ On December 9, Major Lane came to camp in great haste with orders for the First to move on to Monterey.

The joy at this deliverance was expressed in different ways. Some thanked God on their knees and others rushed to the sutler's tent to show their thanks by imbibing of the best that was to be had. It was about two hundred and ten miles by river to Camargo and on land one hundred and eighty more to Walnut Springs. The sick were to be left in the hospital at Matamoras.

The next day after receiving the orders the First embarked for Camargo on the "J. E. Roberts" and the "Rough and Ready." John Gillespie of the Fountain Riflemen fell overboard and was drowned before the boat started. No towns were passed until the boats came to Reynosa. It was a miserable cluster of huts of mud and cane, worse looking than a beaver dam. The evergreens, tropical shrubbery, leafless thorn bushes and beautiful flowers offered a landscape, which contrasted pleasantly with the squalid Mexican villages.

December 14 the "J. E. Roberts" arrived at Camargo, three

¹³ Reed, *Campaign in Mexico*.

¹⁴ December 8, four companies of the Third struck tents and boarded the steamer Corvette for Camargo. The Corvette started up the river the following day. On the 10th the men arrived at Rienaco and fixed quarters for the night. In the usual search for arms Captain Boardman took twenty men as guard and went toward a light which was about a mile from the boat. When within about twenty yards the guards were placed and the captain, together with two other men, approached the light. They found it to be a small rancho, with a man, woman and two children in it. They were much frightened. After a thorough search the men failed to find any arms. As they started to leave one of the men reminded the captain that he had not searched the bed where the woman was lying. Captain Boardman went up to it at once and as he began fumbling around suddenly saying, "Boys, here's a gun!" The woman started jabbering and making signs, but the men could not understand her so went up to assist their captain. They soon found that the captain had hold of the woman's leg and told him that he had made a serious mistake: what he had found was legs and not arms.—Related in a letter from L. B. McK— of the Third, *Triweekly Journal*, March 17, 1847.

miles up the San Juan.¹⁵ The town was as bad as it had been represented. The flat-roofed stone buildings were dilapidated and falling. The mud and cane houses looked more like cow houses and hog pens than human dwellings. The next day old "Rough and Ready" brought up the remaining six companies of the First and they began breaking mules at once. The Third had already finished with their own pack train and departed on the 16th. Two days later everything was put in readiness for the trip to Monterey. The men were completely outfitted in arms, canteens, etc., in preparation for the forced march. On the 19th the whole camp rose before daybreak. All were anxious to go, but some who were not well were left in the hospital because there were enough wagons only for provisions. A wearisome and tedious journey was expected, but the haversacks contained only bread, boiled pickled pork, coffee and salt. The road was ankle deep in dust and it rose in such clouds as to choke the men and make it impossible to see the company ahead. At the end of the second day, after a twenty-mile march with full equipment, the men were pretty well exhausted. Their noses were so sore with blowing that it was almost impossible to touch them and their lips were so blistered that it was hard to tell when they were closed. The heat, dust and salt pork produced such a thirst that the men drank heavily of a pond of water covered with a green scum. Sore feet and aching limbs so tortured the men that every time they stopped long enough they gave them water treatment. The bread ran so low occasionally that one-half a loaf served eleven men of the Second for two meals.

The fifth day of marching found the two regiments about half way to Monterey. Feet were becoming tougher and limbs ceased to ache so much. The men even began to notice the scenery which was becoming wilder and more impressive. The rising sun cast its beams on the mountains on the left. The whole chain appeared like piles of burnished silver.¹⁶ "The wonders of war are gradually revealing themselves to my sight. There is nothing else on earth in which splendor is mingled to a greater degree with misery. It is strange also

¹⁵ The Second also arrived on the 14th—Letter of L. B. McK—, *State Journal*, March 17, 1847.

¹⁶ Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*, 43.

how soon it blunts the finer feelings of our nature and absolutely murders all sympathy or pity."¹⁷

As the men neared the end of their march their feet grew heavy but their hearts were light, for at last they were to become a part of the army. They were within six miles of Walnut Springs, where they were to camp, when without warning the column jammed and came to a stop. A courier rode up and gave Colonel Drake a dispatch. The colonel reddened as he read it in the saddle. He had the men face about and then started to read it. The task was too much for him and he could not finish it. He handed it to the men. The First was to go back to its sand hill at the mouth of the Rio Grande. The troops of the First were put into motion and had to take back as it were, every one of the three hundred and ninety miles which they had advanced. Many of the unfortunate men of the First received the farewell of friends in the Second with tears in their eyes. The order had come from General Taylor. Every man felt that his regiment was being purposely punished but why, he knew not. Two motives were generally offered to explain Taylor's conduct. He either wished to punish Colonel Drake for his unmilitary request to move the regiment, or he wished to reprimand General Patterson for his assumption of authority in giving the orders to march. Patterson in later years said he was acting from pity and not from orders from headquarters. This sudden disappointment brought the following estimate of Taylor from one of the members of the First:

The General who could serve innocent soldiers of his command so scurrily, allowing them under such circumstances to get within two hours of his camp, after a movement of such length and labor, must have been of a soul which no successes could have made great.¹⁸

Lieutenant Colonel Nave was so resentful at the treatment of his regiment that he resigned. The four hundred or so survivors elected Major Lane to fill his place.

As the regiment was on its way back to Camargo it was overtaken by another order. Taylor had evidently relented as he lightened the sentence by stating that Colonel Drake was to send two companies to the mouth of the river and keep the

¹⁷ Lew Wallace, Letter, *Indiana State Journal*, Jan. 22, 1847.

¹⁸ Lew Wallace, *Autobiography*, 144.

rest at Matamoras. This put all in better spirits. Rations were issued for four days and the men took the boats for their return journey. On the fifth day they were stalled and they were not yet half way. The men had to get out and forage. Three were ambushed by the Mexicans so their comrades stormed and took a small town. They did nothing to the inhabitants but captured four beeves which proved very usefull.

At Matamoras the men of the First rested from their long march. For the first time in eight months the men were able to lie down to sleep with a roof over their heads. Companies A and H (Roberts and McDougal) encamped in the Main Plaza; company F (Lewis) at Ft. Paredes; company C (Milroy) at Fort Brown, and the remaining six companies in barracks at the lower Plaza. The regiment drilled in the Plaza in the heart of the city. There were some social functions to enliven the soldier's existence on garrison duty. The Mexican belles proved great waltzers and the men showed their appreciation by serenades. Colonel Drake was made civil governor and military commandant at Matamoras, succeeding Colonel Clark of the Eighth infantry. Considerable responsibility fell upon the colonel, as he came in contact with local usages and customs so old that they were practically law. It was necessary for him to arbitrate every little difficulty and to employ an interpreter.

The First had hardly settled in their new quarters before orders again came to proceed to Walnut Springs, this time from Adjutant General Bliss. For the third time the regiment covered the long route to Monterey. This time it reached its destination without interruption. As the men drew near General Taylor's headquarters they became anxious to see the general in spite of the poor treatment they had received from him. They expected to find a magnificent tent with staff officers round about in flashy uniforms, surrounded by orderlies. They found only a white flagpole on which was a tattered, dirty flag, a dingy tent, flap up in front, and under it a plain deal table and a few camp chairs. The troops marched past to be reviewed. Few saluted. They saw no one to salute. Leaning against the flag staff was a small man, dressed in an unbuttoned blouse of no particular color, a limp-bosomed shirt far from white, hang-down collar, no tie, what was once

light blue trousers, and a pair of heavy marching shoes red with use. A slouch wool hat was drawn low over an unshaven face, dull and expressionless.¹⁹ Most of the men did not learn until afterwards that this was General Taylor.

Walnut Springs was the site of the battle of Monterey. It was four miles from the city, and an ideal spot for a camp. Towering peaks rose majestically on all sides and the place was well shaded with the largest and straightest trees that the men had seen in the country.

Soon after the arrival of the Indiana troops General Taylor left with his command for Victoria. The Second Indiana did not remain long at Walnut Springs but hurried on toward Saltillo, as Colonel Haddon had received an order from General Lane to that effect. With it came the report that Santa Anna was within two days' march of Saltillo. The regiment had sixty-five miles yet to travel. It had already covered one hundred and fifty, carrying heavier burdens than the regiments from the other States.²⁰ Just as camp was being broken general orders arrived giving a day's rest as the provisions were not yet ready. The troops spent this time visiting the cathedral, markets, tanneries, and other scenes of interest in Monterey. The details of the battle of Monterey were related and discussed.

Before daybreak, December 27, the Second started for Saltillo. In Monterey the regiment attracted quite a bit of attention because of the healthy appearance of all its members. At night it halted at the Shrine of St. Catherine near the mountain pass. On the way from Monterey some of the men visited the gardens of General Arista. Compared to the country through which the troops had marched in the past, these suggested the Garden of Eden.

The road to Saltillo was broken and rocky, the wind blowing the dust to the rear in suffocating clouds. As it approached Reneonida it led through a grove of trees which formed a shady archway above, while here and there were enormous century plants from fifteen to twenty feet high. On the morning of December 31, the regiment marched twelve miles to a place called Warm Springs, where the Second

¹⁹ Lew Wallace, *Autobiography*, 133.

²⁰ Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*, 51.

pitched its tents at Camp Butler. The dust, wind, and cold made it very uncomfortable. Wood was doled out two cords to the regiment, so the parcels were rather small by the time it got to the messes. The discomforts affected the spirits of all. A few days after the arrival of his regiment at Camp Butler, Colonel Bowels returned from Indiana loaded with letters. The men waited eagerly for their names to be called and hurriedly tore open the letters.

Generals W. J. Worth and William O. Butler were at Saltillo with that part of the army which Taylor had left, 3,500 in all, 1,400 of whom were Indianians. On the last day of the year, 1846, General Worth's division left Saltillo to join Scott in his expedition against the capital of Mexico. After January 1 the Second and Third Indiana were the sole occupants of the camp, but General Lane took the regiments into the city to take the place of General Worth's troops, January 10.²¹

Saltillo, an old city of about 12,000 inhabitants, rested on the side of a hill. It had formerly been the capital of the States of Coahuila, Texas, and New Leon. The streets were narrow and the sidewalks roughly paved with stones. Lime-water fountains and streams were abundant, and the water was free and good. The flat-roofed houses were built of stone and mud bricks, whitened with plaster. Two of the five churches were impressive cathedrals. These the volunteers had an excellent opportunity to examine in their search for arms.

Around and above the city towered the mountains which reached into the clouds. At sunrise and sunset they reflected many gorgeous colors, and the men thought they surpassed all descriptions of Alpine scenery. The abrupt sides supported no trees or vegetation, and the separate peaks stood clearly outlined like the towers of a castle. The clear atmosphere apparently reduced distances many times, as the men found when what they estimated to be a couple of miles stretched into fifteen or twenty.

The soil in the valleys was productive, but the seasons were irregular and crops were produced only by irrigation from the small mountain streams. Wheat, corn, oats, barley, beans, cabbage and sweet potatoes were plentiful and the

²¹ Reed, *Campaign in Mexico*.

market was well supplied with pork, beef, chickens, mutton, goat meat, eggs, and cabbage. Firewood was scarce and small donkey-loads brought in from the country sold at thirty-seven and one-half cents per load.

The people were very much alike, all dusky brown, eyes dark and sparkling, of light build, straight and active. At first the women were afraid of the volunteers, but after they saw the orderly behavior of the troops, they came forth and, dressed in their best, became sociable and at ease.²²

The troops were pleasantly situated and furnished with comfortable quarters and good provisions. Discipline was strict as an attack was expected daily. The many little duties kept the men pretty well occupied. One hundred men were detailed from each of the Indiana regiments for guard duty and the rest worked on the fortifications.

²² From a description of Saltillo, Maj. A. F. Morrison, letter to *State Journal*, March 15, 1847.

(To be continued)

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Indiana In the Mexican War

THE BUENA VISTA CAMPAIGN

By R. C. BULEY.

(Continued)

When it became evident that Santa Anna was coming north to offer battle, General Taylor began selecting his position. Agua Nueva was probably the best strategic position within one hundred miles of Saltillo. The enemy in advancing in a direct line from San Luis de Potosi would have to approach by the hacienda La Encarnation. To reach Agua Nueva from there the Mexican army would be compelled to cross thirty-five miles of desert. No water could be obtained in this stretch and the first to be had after crossing was controlled by the Americans. Another argument in favor of fighting at Agua Nueva was the dispiriting moral effect a retreat would have had upon the morale of raw troops, even tho that retreat were made to secure a better position. But these advantages all depended upon Santa Anna's approaching by La Encarnation and the direct road. There were two other routes by which he might with great exertion, reach the American army. To the right by La Hedionda, he might gain Buena Vista in the rear of Taylor's army; to the left by La Punta de Santa Elena he might attain the hacienda San Juan de la Vaqueria, which would control the road to Saltillo and cut the American line of communications. Either of these moves would have necessitated a retreat by the American army. Fourteen miles to the rear of Agua Nueva was another location, which, as early as the December previous, General Wood had selected

as an excellent battle site. This was the pass and plateau of Buena Vista.

The time from February 10 to 20, 1847, was diligently employed in reconnoitering roads and approaches and in drilling and disciplining the troops. General Taylor placed the camp and instruction of the troops under General Wool, whose long experience and skill well fitted him for the work. On the 20th a strong reconnoitring party of approximately four hundred, under Brevet-Lieutenant Colonel C. A. May, was sent to the valley in which the hacienda of Potosi was located, to ascertain the location of General Minon's brigade at Potosi, and, if possible, to investigate the approach by the La Hedionda route. It was thot that General Minon's cavalry was being used as a feint to blind Taylor and cover the movements of the main army under Santa Anna. Lieutenant-Colonel May was barely able to draw in all his outposts and make a night retreat before Minon's squadrons. On the 21st he brought to Taylor and Wool the news of the nearness of the Mexican army. These generals went into conference at Agua Nueva, and, when Major McCulloch reported that he had viewed a Mexican army of at least twenty thousand, promptly decided to retire to the "Pass of Thermopylae" near Buena Vista. Taylor's army, since being cut down by the regulars sent to Scott, numbered only four thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine men.²³ The whole movement from Saltillo had been merely a reconnoissance in force, for he could spare no men to hold a line of communications and fight. A rear guard of Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry and Steens' regulars was left at Agua Nueva to remove the stores and hold the place as long as possible. The remainder of the army retired to Buena Vista. The Mexicans arrived rather sooner than expected and the guard burned the provisions and retired during the night of February 21, fighting stubbornly until it joined the main army to the north. The quick work of the American generals deceived Santa Anna. He had hoped to get Minon's cavalry in Taylor's rear at Agua Neuva, and, striking with his main force, crush the American army. To do this he had been making forced marches across thirty-five miles of desert, and, short of supplies, he pressed recklessly on. When he reached his favorite spot he found

²³Official Report, *National Documents*, 1847-8, p 140.

only the retreating guard. Without rest, only a little food, and a single draught of water, the army now hurried fourteen miles farther.

BUENA VISTA

About five miles south of Saltillo, on the road to San Luis Potosi, was the hacienda, or sheep ranch called San Juan de la Buena Vista. A few flat roofed clay dwellings and a corral about one hundred and fifty feet square were the only buildings to mark the place. These blended harmoniously with the desolation of the surrounding scenery. Far away to the south stretched the plateau, bounded only by the mountains on the east and west. Cacti and Spanish bayonets were the only green vegetation to break the dull gray of the land.

The pass of Buena Vista breaks a chain of lofty mountains, which, running from east to west divided the valley north of Saltillo from the more elevated part around La Encantada. This valley is from one and one half to four miles wide. At the southern and narrowest end is La Encantada; at the north, the city of Saltillo. From Encantada a small stream flows northward thru the pass to Saltillo and finally to the Rio Selinas. The portion of the pass east of the stream was some sixty or seventy feet above that on the west side. It was also much broader and resembled an elevated table. The road from Saltillo to Agua Nueva continued along this upper plain for the first five miles, to the ranch of Buena Vista. For the next mile the road ran across a series of dry ravines, then descended to the lower level, where it followed a very narrow strip of land between the stream and the outstanding spurs of the tableland above. At the point where the road first struck the lower level, going southward, the strip of land between the first and highest spur and the perpendicular bank of the stream was barely wide enough for its passage. This point was known as La Angostura, or The Narrows.

It was at this site, selected by General Wool and approved by Taylor, that the American army awaited the attack of the Mexicans. The defensive advantages of the ground would enable the American army to meet the Mexicans on more even terms. The ravines and ridges would minimize the effect of cavalry and artillery and greatly reduce the advantage due to numerical superiority in infantry.

The Second and Third Indiana had been with Taylor at Agua Nueva. It was very cool on the elevated plateau and snow fell. Pitch pine was used for wood. The extended plain dotted with white tents and gorgeous sunsets presented a very inspiring scene. On February 21 the Indiana troops, along with the rest of the army, struck tents and marched back to Saltillo. The next morning, after breakfast, they marched out one and one-half miles and took up a position on the edge of the plateau.

The key to the field of Buena Vista was La Angostura or the Narrows. To prevent Santa Anna's passage along the road at this point Captain J. M. Washington's battery was posted. Supporting this battery was two companies of the first Illinois infantry (Colonel John J. Hardin) behind breastworks, and six companies on the hill above. To further protect this part of the field General Taylor placed the Third Indiana under Col. James H. Lane on a hill just north of the six Illinois companies and to the left of the battery.

Eight or ten ravines broke the plateau into long ridges or arms. As these continued across the road to the west they became steep-sided gorges sixty or seventy feet deep, and practically impassable. The most feasible way for Santa Anna to gain the plateau, then, would be by way of these deep paths cutting into it. With the Narrows taken care of, it was necessary for General Wool to look after the defense of these ravines. In the south part of the plateau three ravines running from west to east, led directly into the center of Taylor's position. Here the first attack would surely fall. Near the end of the southern and longest of the three ravines, General Wool posted the Second Indiana under Colonel Bowles, to support Lieut. John P. J. O'Brien and three guns. Gen. Joseph Lane had charge of the regiment and batteries. All the other troops were placed in relation to that most advanced position. At the left and to the rear of the Second was Col. Humphrey Marshall's Kentucky cavalry and a squadron of Second United States dragoons. They were to guard the passageway between the plateau and the mountain. One-fourth mile to the rear and right of the Second was Col. William H. Bissell's Second Illinois and a section of Bragg's battery to help Bowles if needed, and watch the second and third ravines. The third command

in this "stair step" formation was William R. McKee's Second Kentucky infantry and Capt. T. W. Sherman's battery. To the rear of these regiments and at the head of the largest ravine was stationed Colonel Gell's Arkansas cavalry in reserve. This ravine, the largest of the three, was known as La Bosco de la Bestarros. To keep the Second Indiana from being flanked by troops taking the mountain at its left, a battalion of riflemen was formed of two companies from the Second and Third Indiana Regiments and placed on the ridge overlooking the plateau. The above was the disposition of the troops at the middle of the afternoon of February 22.

In the morning of the 22d great clouds of dust to the south towards Angostura had already announced the arrival of the Mexicans. About eleven o'clock, General Taylor was sitting on his horse taking a final survey of his forces, when a note was brought to him. It was from Santa Anna himself, and stated that the Americans were surrounded by twenty thousand men and the only way out would be a surrender at discretion. General Taylor politely declined this summons.

Santa Anna's army consisted of twenty-eight battalions of infantry and thirty-nine squadrons of cavalry. The Mexicans possessed by way of artillery, three twenty-four pounders, three sixteen pounders, five twelve pounders, five eight pounders, and one seven inch howitzer. Besides these guns there were several large pieces not mounted that were drawn in wagons. Five hundred trained artillerymen manned the guns. All told the Mexican army numbered 18,133 men.²⁴

As the Mexicans approached the volunteers were struck with the fine appearance of the army. Lombardini's division came up in full sight. The men were in full dress, the horses gaily caparisoned, the battle standards unfurled, the infantry marching in perfect step, and the cavalry advancing as on parade.²⁵ Santa Anna began the attack with a feint along the road thru the pass of Angostura. Meanwhile, with a heavy artillery accompaniment, the Mexican light brigade swarmed up the ridge held by the American riflemen under Major Willis Gorman, to the left of General Lane. All on the plateau below watched this struggle. Darkness fell in the

²⁴ Santa Anna's official report; General Howard, *Life of Taylor*, estimates Santa Anna's army at 20,050 men.

²⁵Carleton, *Battle of Buena Vista*, p 56.

midst of it. Those below could not hear the rifles but could see the flashes. Major Cravens, awake by his regiment, said they reminded him of June in Indiana and the fireflies gleaming across a meadow. Shortly after dark all became silent save the enemy's trumpets. They possessed a peculiar melody to the Americans, lying on their arms, hungry, and shivering with cold.

Evidently the front of the plateau was too well defended to risk an attack there, so Santa Anna planned to turn the American left by getting a passageway at the base of the mountain. Under cover of night he planted a battery of five eight pounders in range to rake lengthwise the Second Indiana and O'Brien's battery. This battery was supported by cavalry and seven thousand infantry were massed noiselessly in the ravine, where they bivouacked.

Dawn on the 23d was announced by an outbreak of the Mexican artillery. The morning was unusually bright and clear, the Mexican arms sparkling in the morning sun. Flags and pennants floated in the breeze. The rattle of musketry, the crack of the rifles, bugle calls, the shouts of those already engaged higher up on the mountain and the screech of the cannon balls united to make a scene never to be forgotten by the Americans quietly awaiting the attack.

Major Mansfield of the engineers returning from a reconnoissance reported the exact position of General Pacheco's division; Inspector-General Churchill who rode to the left of the plateau to inform General Lane that the enemy was then coming up and across the main ravine in front, found General Lane at this moment the ranking officer on the plateau, as General Wool had gone to La Angostura to arrange for an attack there. General Lane immediately ordered forward Lieutenant O'Brien and his three pieces of artillery supported by the Second Regiment of Indiana volunteers. These troops advanced more than two hundred yards in front of the other troops, turned the edge of the third gorge and halted, O'Brien placing his section in battery and the column of companies forming into line on his left, with the front thrown diagonally across the road.²⁵

After the preliminary actions the Mexican infantry divis-

²⁵Carleton, *Battle of Buena Vista*, 56.

ion under Lombardini bursting forth from the ravine, gained a foothold on the plateau where, in column of brigades, it confronted O'Brien's battery and the Second Indiana. It was a trying moment for the volunteers who found themselves face to face with thousands of veterans in solid column, with their gaudy uniforms and showy banners. The manoeuvre by which the Mexicans gained their positions was well executed. While the struggle with the first column was yet undecided another Mexican column poured forth from the ravine and fell in beside the first. The attack of the Mexicans was met with steadiness and effect. In addition to the fire in front General Lane's command was being enfiladed by the battery of eight pounders on the heights.

The unequal conflict continued for twenty-five minutes.²⁷ The front lines of the Mexicans gave way but were replaced by others. The infantry fire of the Mexicans, aimed too high, did little damage, but the grape from the battery on the left was playing havoc; men were falling on all sides. General Lane determined to get his men out of the range of this battery by pushing farther down the ridge, hoping by this move to force General Pacheco back into the ravine, and get his own men in better range of the Mexicans. O'Brien limbered up and advanced sixty yards to the right and front, where the battery again began the slaughter. By this time the Mexican musketry fire and the raking fire of ball and grape from the battery on the left had become so effective that the Second, instead of advancing, as Lane intended, retired in some disorder from their position, in spite of his efforts and those of a number of officers to stop them.²⁸ In the midst of the action, Colonel Bowles, over on the right side of the regiment had twice given the order, "Cease firing, and retreat." The regiment slowly began breaking at its right, company by company until soon it was mostly a mob flying aimlessly to the rear. The busily engaged men on the left not having heard the order of Bowles had not noticed that the right wing was retreating. When they turned and saw that the whole right side was gone and the left starting, several yelled, "Halt men, for God's sake stop!" At this some hesitated but the retreat was general and

²⁷Carleton, *Buena Vista*, 58.

²⁸Lane's Report *National Documents*, 1847, p 182. For causes of this retreat and consequences, see Chapter III.

the enemy, led by a large force of lancers, was fast approaching. At last Lieutenant Stewart W. Cayce, then in command remarked, "It's no use boys to stay here alone; let's retreat." So the left wing followed the right, the balls raining around them and the lancers at their heels.²⁹

Whatever the explanation of this retreat, nothing could have been more unfortunate. Had General Lane's purpose been effectively carried out, it is more than probable that General Pacheco's division would have been cut up in time to allow the Americans to engage with fresh troops General Lombardini, before he could have crossed the ravine and gained the plateau. If, instead of retreating the regiment had pressed diligently forward, the success of the day would have been more complete, and many lives would have been spared which were afterwards sacrificed to regain the advantages lost by this untimely retreat. Had Colonel Bowles advanced bravely, instead of bringing the charge of cowardice upon his State, "his regiment would have executed one of the most brilliant things executed on any battlefield."³⁰ Santa Anna in his official report said that he had already passed an order for his forces to retreat, when the enemy, after a most determined resistance, was observed to give way in great confusion.

Lieutenant O'Brien unsupported by any infantry after the retirement of the Second, decided it was useless to remain alone and sacrifice his pieces needlessly, so he gave the order to limber up and retired with two of his pieces. The horses of the third were all killed or wounded, so it was abandoned.³¹

The riflemen in the mountain, who were about to be cut off, hastened down and most of them ran to the hacienda, stopping in the corral. Of those who tried to join their colors many were killed.³²

The Second never rallied as a full regiment. Colonel Jefferson Davis of the Mississippi regiment called loudly to those fleeing to return and renew the combat. Colonel Bowles who had given the order that began the retreat, now, having lost all hope of rallying it again, seized a rifle and followed by a handful of his men, joined the Mississippians as a private.

²⁹Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*. Scribner was on the left wing of the Second Regiment.

³⁰General Wool to Colonel Bowles in presence of General Lane, Colonel Curtis, and Major Washington. Scribner, 62.

³¹Lieutenant O'Brien's official report, *National Documents*, 1846-7, p. 160.

During the remainder of the day he showed personal bravery in that regiment." Taylor said, that with this exception, the regiment took no further part in the action." It was this statement that later got him into so much trouble in Indiana. More than a "mere handful" finished the fight. While the Mississippi riflemen and the Third Indiana assisted by Lieutenant Kilburn were engaged in front of the plateau with General Apulia, General Wool was doing all in his power to rally the Indianians who had given way. General Lane, wounded and bleeding was likewise trying to assemble the scattered fragments of the regiment with which he had opened the battle. In this work they were ably assisted by Inspector-General Churchill, by Major Munroe of the artillery, and by Captain Steen of the First Dragoons, who fell severely wounded while on this duty. None succeeded so well, however, as Major Dix of the pay department. After riding in among them he seized the standard of the Second and asked the men whether they were going to desert their colors. He told them that they had sworn to protect them and now if they were still determined to do so they would have to return with him to the fight. He swore, that, with God's help, he would not see

³²These men again got into the fight and did good work. The following song of the Indiana Riflemen by John C. Dunn, Assistant Surgeon U. S. A. commemorated their service; from *Madison Courier*, May 1, 1847: Perry 160.

Up, up the wild mountain—
Up, up to the fight!
Hark! the bugle of war
Sounds far o'er the height.

The foe is above us—
In thousands they gorge
The time-crumbled cliffs,
Yet on they charge.

Though few be our numbers,
Our rifles so dread
Shall people the mountain
With wounded and dead.

Ram, ram, the dread cartridge,
Aim dead at the foe—
The cheers of our brethren
Resound from below.

Fire! fire! how they tumble—
Shout, shout for the State,
Whose young bosom sent thee
To war with the great!

Let her arms shine unsullied,
Her glory be bright—
For she opened the battle,
She ended the fight!

³³Carleton, *Buena Vista* 75. Taylor's official report, *National Documents*, 1846-7, p 134.

³⁴Official report of the Battle, *National Documents*, 134.

the state of Indiana disgraced by having her flag carried out of battle until it could be carried out in triumph, and that back again it would go, if he had to take it there and defend it alone. This won over many of the men within hearing distance. It seemed to quell the panic which had fallen upon them. Themselves again, they rallied, gave three cheers for Indiana, and gathered round their flag. Captain Linnard, of the topographical engineers, who had been active in assisting Major Dix in putting the men in order as they came together, obtained a fife and drum and directed the national quickstep to be played. Major Dix led off with the flag, while the captain brought up the rear and they directed their steps toward Colonel Davis's and Colonel Lane's (3d) regiments back in the battle.³⁵ All the rest continued the flight back to the hacienda of Buena Vista and some even to Saltillo.

While all this was taking place to the left and rear, the battle was being hard fought up to the front of the plateau. General Pacheco immediately followed up the advantages he had achieved at heavy cost. His cavalry advanced from its cover and pressed forward on the right of his infantry, while General Lombardini succeeded at the same time in crossing the ravine and uniting with them.

The Kentucky cavalry, placed to the left of where the Second Indiana had been, retired to join Colonel Gell on the other side of La Bosca. Only three regiments, all seriously weakened by detachments left behind Saltillo and on the mountain stood between the Mexicans and Washington's battery at the pass. These were Bissell's Second Illinois, McKee's Second Kentucky, and Hardin's First Illinois. The Mexican general half wheeled his line to the left and it seemed as if these regiments would have to go the same way as the Second Indiana. But General Wool kept a cool head. As Bissell fell back Hardin and McKee advanced on the run to meet him. The three regiments formed in line with Bragg's and Sherman's batteries.

The enemy charged with a roar, but the line held and the struggle became one of endurance. The Mexicans crossed La Bosca and pushed back the two regiments of Kentucky and

³⁵Carleton, *Buena Vista*, 82.

Arkansas horse, under Colonels Marshall and Gell. Colonel Gell refused to yield and died sword in hand.

About eight o'clock General Taylor arrived on the field. He had been in Saltillo providing against an attack on his provisions, and returned just in time. To all appearances his army had lost the day. The American left was turned, their cavalry beaten back and only one thin line intervened between Lombardini's masses and the pass of Angostura. General Minon's cavalry had got around to the rear and were between the Hacienda of Buena Vista and Saltillo.

Undismayed, Taylor ordered Col. James H. Lane and the Third Indiana, which had been held in reserve, to join Colonel Davis and the remains of the Second Indiana and crush Pacheco's flank. On the double-quick, about two hundred of the Second Indiana (those rallied by Dix) under their Lieutenant-Colonel William R. Haddon, met Davis, and without halting formed on his left. After a long run the three regiments hit Pacheco's column while it was engaged in front by Hardin, McKee and Bissell. The Mexicans were soon forced to retreat in the utmost disorder. The Indianians sent out a detail to bring in the wounded from the ravines where they found the "barbarians" cruelly butchering the wounded and stripping their bodies.³⁶

About this time Saltillo was attacked by the two thousand lancers under Minon but the attack was repulsed. Simultaneously a charge was made by a large body of lancers on the provision train at the ranch, and several companies of Arkansas and Kentucky cavalry were forced to fall back. An extended line then rushed down expecting to rob the wounded and sack the wagons. Checked by the fire from the Indiana rifle battalion, the Arkansas troops and First dragoons, they gave way, being pursued by May's dragoons, and a part of Bragg's battery. The Mexicans were driven along the foot of the mountain into a gorge where they joined a force which the Mississippians, aided by the Second Indiana and a twelve pound howitzer, had been engaging with great success. This part of the Mexican army was now in a critical position. To the left was Colonel May and two guns. On the right were three more pieces of Sherman's battery, the Indianians and

³⁶Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*, 63.

Mississippians. At this point, with a brilliant victory over the 3,000 men in sight, the men received an order to cease hostilities, as a flag of truce had arrived. They ceased firing and under cover of the flag the extreme Mexican wing succeeded in joining the remainder of the army.

By two o'clock nearly all of the plateau was in the possession of the Americans. The men took advantage of the quiet to rest, lying on their arms, about their colors. But Santa Anna was marshalling his men for a final charge which he was able to make with 12,000 men. Colonels Hardin and McKee were now over to the southeast part of the plateau where the Second Indiana had been early in the morning. Both their regiments were routed by this Mexican attack in which Colonels Hardin, McKee and young Henry Clay were killed. The broken regiments retreated down a ravine opening into the pass where they were protected by Washington's breastworks and the battery. Their pursuers were exposed to its fire and driven back with loss. The rest of the American artillery took a position on the plateau, covered by the Mississippi and Third Indiana regiments.

Taylor ordered Bragg, Davis and Colonel Lane to recross La Bosca and fall upon the flank of the enemy, who at once came charging down in all their splendor. The Americans formed into a V, the Third Indiana on the right, the Mississippians and Second Indiana forming the angle. While standing there awaiting the approaching enemy Colonel Davis called out, "Hold your fire men, until they get close then give it to them."⁸⁷ The oncoming Mexicans made an imposing appearance with their long columns, glittering lances and richly colored banners. A white-horse company, wearing brass-mounted caps decorated in red plumes, galloped up with lines accurately dressed. At twenty paces they received the deadly cross fire of the V formation. Whole platoons seemed to drop. Every man took upon himself part of the credit and for the first time the men of the Second felt something of the glory and pomp of war.⁸⁸ Some, intoxicated by success, entirely overlooked the possibility of death. General Lane forgetful of his wounded arm rode up and down the lines exclaiming, "We'll

⁸⁷ Scribner, *Campaign in Mexico*, 65.

⁸⁸*Ibid.* 65.

whip them yet." It was a happy time. In a few minutes the Second Indiana, with the Mississippians and the Third Indiana were again facing the foe upon the ridge near the place where they were stationed early in the morning. The Mexicans had a heavy battery there and as the men ascended the brow of the hill they were warmly received, both by the battery and by the Mexican reserve of six thousand men that had been pursuing the Illinois and Kentucky regiments. They paid them back with interest and then fell back under the brow of the hill for protection and watched the shot strike in their front and rear.

Bragg's battery had come up in time to deliver the telling blow again the Mexicans. Without any infantry support he had swept the Mexican column that had driven back the Illinois and Second Kentucky regiments. At Taylor's command he put in more grape. "The first discharge of cannister caused the enemy to hesitate; the second and third drove them back in disorder, and saved the day."³⁹ About sun-down the artillery ceased and the conflict was over. By six o'clock next morning Santa Anna and all his unwounded troops were back at Agua Nueva, fourteen miles to the south.

The American losses at Buena Vista totalled seven hundred and forty six.⁴⁰ The Second Indiana lost one hundred and seven and the Third sixty-five. Captain T. B. Kinder of the Second was one of Indiana's well known officers killed in the battle."

Buena Vista was the only battle in which the Indiana volunteers, of 1846, got to participate. Quite naturally it attracted a great deal of attention in the state. The controversy over the conduct of the Second regiment was long and bitter. Buena Vista was fought over time and again in the newspapers of the state, and Taylor's charge of cowardice against the Second was made the paramount issue in the presidential campaign of 1848.

The next morning after the battle, February 24, 1847, those of the Second who had fought with the Mississippians joined their own regiment. Parties went out in all directions and picked up the wounded and dead, the dead of each regiment being buried side by side. A cross of staves was raised over

³⁹Taylor, official report, *National Documents*. 1847-8, p 136.

⁴⁰Taylor's report, *National Documents*. 1846-7, p 140.

each grave, three salutes were fired and the men left the field. Everybody was solemn and silent, and the joy of victory was mixed with sorrow for companions and friends who never left the field.

The following day scouts reported that Santa Anna's army was still at Agua Nueva and would probably renew the struggle. The troops were ordered to strike tents and return to the field of battle. Here they encamped greatly inconvenienced by the lack of blankets, knapsacks and clothing. In constant expectation of the long roll, the men slept lightly and had feverish dreams. Some members of the Spencer Greys of New Albany were crouching over the coals when General Lane came up and ordered Colonel Bowles to have the long roll beaten as a messenger had just arrived with the news that the picket had been fired upon. The camp was silent in slumber, and the men could be seen stretched out in the moonlight and shadow. The rolling of the drums spread from line to line. The white tent coverings flew up in the air and the men came to their feet with every variety of expression on their excited faces. After an hour they were permitted to lie down, but alarms continued

"The following poem, by Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton, on Kinder's death appeared in the *Indiana Stinetel*.

Sing a dirge full of woe
For the noble and gifted,
For his head lieth low
And his sword is unlifted.
Sad requiems may swell
O'er the land that he cherished;
Storied marbles may tell
Where the young hero perished.
We may give him to fame,
But we cannot restore him.

Gallant soldier, farewell;
True, thy country has proved thee,
And thy memory will dwell
In the warm hearts that love thee.
They have made thee a grave
In the field of thy glory;
They have written thee brave
On the pages of story.
And fair Freedom will come.
Her sad tribute to render
O'er the low, silent tomb
Of her gallant defender.

Thou didst pass from our sight
In the hours of life's morning,
When thy pathway was bright
With hope's brilliant adorning.
In thy home, once so dear,
There is weeping and wailing;
But the sigh and the tear
Are alike unavailing;
For the conflict is o'er
And life's ties are all riven,
We will meet thee no more
Till we meet thee in Heaven.

all night. At last came the news that the Mexican army had begun its retreat to San Luis Potosi, and the troops were ordered to prepare to march to their former camp at Agua Neuva. The 26th was spent covering the sixteen miles to Agua Neuva. The road was covered with Mexican dead and the odor was sickening. Tents were pitched near the spot the men had left the week before.

March 10, the small army was ordered back to Buena Vista, as the water was very bad and the wind and dust so disagreeable. Even the horses were affected and died in great numbers.

At the Buena Vista camp the Indiana volunteers became much agitated over the statements that had been made concerning the retreat of the Second. They thot, however, as it could be easily proved that it was ordered to retreat, the matter would soon be settled.

General Taylor, taking Colonel May's dragoons, Bragg's battery of light artillery, and the Mississippi regiment left the litle army for Walnut Springs, near Monterey. The Second and Third Indiana Regiments were left under the command of General Wool, a brave and skilled officer, and a good soldier, but a man who could not gain the affections of the men as could "Old Rough and Ready," who, since the battle, had been adored by the men.

With time the camp at Buena Vista was made very comfortable. The health of all was improving nicely. On the last day of April the whole division passed in review before General Wool and staff. There were seven regiments of infantry, two squadrons of dragoons and four batteries of flying artillery, altogether a pleasing sight.

The first two weeks of May saw much excitement in camp over the court of investigation concerning the conduct of General Lane and Colonel Bowles in the battle. Its purpose was to fix the blame, if possible, for the retreat of the Second. General Lane called for an examination on his own account and was acquitted with highest praise. Colonel Bowles, by request, followed his example and the charges of incapacity for performing the duties of colonel, ignorance of company and battalion drill, etc., were fully substantiated as well as the fact of his having given the order "cease firing, and retreat."

The effect of this decision was immediately felt thruout the camp. The minds of members of the Second were put at ease for the time being. They thot that all doubts as to the propriety of their retreat were settled, and that that unfortunate event, as far as all were concerned, was disposed of forever. Little did they forsee the publicity that it was to be given during the next two years.

On the evening of May 14 the Indiana regiments received the welcome news that they were to take up their line of march for the mouth of the Rio Grande on the 24th. The New Albany company received a request from home to bring back the bodies of their four comrades who had fallen in battle. This they first thot impracticable but later complied with the wishes of friends back home.

According to schedule, the Second and Third regiments of Indiana volunteers left camp Buena Vista for New Orleans, May 24. Before leaving, the regiments were formed in line and general orders number 295, issued the day before, were read:

Headquarters, Buena Vista, May 23, 1847.

The departure of the Second and Third regiments to-morrow under orders for New Orleans, there to be discharged from their military engagements, makes it necessary and proper for the General commanding at the time of terminating the relations which have existed between himself and these troops, to say a few words in relation to the subject connected with their conduct in the battle of Buena Vista, in which the greater part have done such good service. He feels that the moment of parting is not the time to look with a severe eye on the misconduct of a portion of those troops whose companions have merited and will receive the credit which a grateful people always yield to brave men; and the recent legal investigations caused him to regret that a fault of judgment in an individual at a critical moment should have been the means of casting a deeper shade than was deserved upon that portion of the Second regiment which has been censured. He feels confident that time and justice, which sooner or later regulate all the affairs of men, will single out and discriminate the bad from the good and give to the latter, without qualification, the credit which is due them.

The General regrets deeply that he is to lose the valuable services of Brigadier-General Lane, whose integrity and zeal and close attention to all the requisitions of the service have been so much aid to him in the discharge of his duties and whose gallant conduct in the field has gained for him the esteem and confidence of every one.

In wishing him and his officers and men a safe journey home, the General bids them adieu.

By command of Brigadier-General Wool.

IRVIN McDOWELL. A.A.G.

The First Indiana, during the Buena Vista campaign had been in camp at Walnut Springs. Its desire to get into the war was never realized and now it left Monterey for the states on the same day as the other Indiana regiments. On May 22 Taylor wrote to Colonel Drake and the First the following complimentary letter in reply to a courteous farewell note of Colonel Drake:

Headquarters, Army of Occupation,
Camp near Monterey, Mexico, May 22, 1847.

Colonel J. P. Drake:

Dear Sir:

Your very acceptable letter of this morning was this moment handed me. For the approbatory terms in which you have been pleased to speak on your own, as well as on the part of your regiment, of the existing relations between us, as well as the kind feelings which will be carried and cherished toward me on your return to civil life, when on the eve of separating and returning to your homes, in consequence of the expiration of your term of service with the government, has created feelings which are difficult to express, but which are highly gratifying as well as duly appreciated. I regret that it was not your good fortune as well as your excellent regiment, to have participated in one, at least, of the hard fought battles which have taken place since our arrival in Mexico, knowing as I do your and their great anxiety to have done so; in which case I am satisfied you would not only have acquired fame and honor for yourselves, but for your State and the country; but circumstances over which you had no control prevented it. All must know who are in the slightest degree acquainted with military operations in carrying on a war in an enemy's country, over long lines from the base of operations, which has been our case, that a considerable portion of the troops employed must be engaged in guarding depots, keeping open lines of communications, escorting trains, etc., which duties are as important, arduous and dangerous as the duties of those who may be engaged in battle, each depending upon the other to insure success, therefore equally honorable to all concerned; and I can bear ample testimony to the zeal and ability with which the First regiment of Indiana Volunteers discharged most of the duties referred to, also many others, as well as the fortitude with which they bore up under disease so common and so much to be dreaded by citizen soldiers on their first entering the service, especially when suddenly transferred from a northern to a southern climate, more by far than the balls and bayonets of the enemy; also your great desire to begin the advance; all of which is the very best evidence had you come in collision

with the enemy you would have done your duty and the honor of our flag and our country been safe in your keeping.

Be assured, Colonel, you will carry with you my best wishes for a quick and safe journey to your homes, a happy meeting with your family and friends, as well as continued health and prosperity thru life.

With considerations of great respect and esteem, I remain,

Truly and sincerely your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Major-General U. S. Army.

THE RETURN OF THE VOLUNTEERS

The First, with a long baggage train, made its way towards Camargo and arrived there on the 28th. The next day it proceeded to San Francisco, on the Rio Grande. Two days later the regiment embarked on the "Corvette" and "Troy," and on June 5 boarded the schooners "Sarah Jane" and "Desdemona" and the brig "Fidelia".⁴

The Second and Third, after a ten days march arrived at Reynose. From there they took steamboats to the mouth of the river and boarded the vessels for New Orleans.

At New Orleans the volunteers were well received by the citizens. Several public dinners were given and salutes fired. Among the mass of patriotic citizens was a liberal sprinkling of Jews and land-sharks, and they attacked the soldiers as furiously as had the Mexicans a few weeks before. By act of congress the soldiers were rewarded with script entitling them to western lands. It was these land claims that the speculators were after. They told great tales of the difficulty of procuring land warrants, as tho it were a very intricate and delicate process. Yet these men were so patriotic, so benevolent and accomodating that they were willing to pay as much as sixty-five dollars for each claim of 160 acres of land and run the risk of figuring out the complicated problem. General Lane had warned all not to sacrifice their claims to speculators, for they could dispose of them on much better terms in their state. In spite of this, many in need of ready cash, sold for thirty to sixty dollars, claims easily worth two hundred.

After they were mustered out at New Orleans the men left for their homes. Most came back by way of the Mississippi and Ohio steamboats. Indianapolis, Madison, New Albany,

⁴Reed, *Campaign in Mexico*.

Brookville, and many other towns made preparations to receive in style their worthy sons.

The citizens of Indianapolis held a meeting at the courthouse Wednesday evening, May 19, to arrange for receiving the volunteers when they returned. A committee of seven was appointed by Chairman W. W. Wick to prepare arrangements and report later. The date of the return to Edinburg was to be ascertained, teams were to be provided to bring the men to Indianapolis, festivities were to be planned and funds raised. One month later the notice appeared in the *Sentinel* that three guns would signal the arrival of the men in Edinburg. At this signal the people were to assemble in front of Washington Hall for further information. Thirteen more salutes were to be given as the volunteers neared the city. In view of the uncertainty of the exact time of arrival no public feasts were prepared but the citizens individually were to entertain the volunteers during their stay in the city. At least eight companies were expected thru Indianapolis. Governor Whitcomb was to address the men. Ex-Governor Wallace was appointed chief marshal.

Wagon loads of volunteers passed thru Indianapolis for several days. By July 6 nearly all of the Indiana soldiers had returned. On Monday the 12th the funeral services of Captain Kinder, whose body was brought all the way from the Rio Grande, were held.

Sullivan county held the celebration on the 10th. The Honorable John W. Davis was the orator of the day. A patriotic ode, composed for the occasion, was sung by its author, Judge John S. Davis. It was estimated that five thousand people were present; two thousand were women.

A letter from Columbus, June 12, reported that the volunteers had all returned and were right side up. A grand dinner for the whole Third regiment, to be given by the Hawpatch farmers, was planned for the following Saturday. Cass county received her sons at Logansport, July 5. An address was delivered by Dr. Graham Fitch, an elaborate dinner was served by Captain Jordan Vigus and a reception ball given in the evening.⁴³

The people of Lawrence county anxiously awaited the re-

⁴³*Indiana Journal*, July 16, 1847.

turn of the volunteers. With the report of Buena Vista had come the news that the Second had fled the field like frightened deer. The details were not known. The relatives and friends denied it on general principles, but later reports confirmed the first. Willis A. Gorman of Bloomington reached home before the others of the Second and in a speech at Bedford gave the first authentic account. He told how the men, after firing twenty-one rounds had received orders to retreat. The facts satisfied the citizens that the men of the Second were not cowards. The Lawrence county men returned, June 30. The Bedford brass band and a large body of citizens met them at White river and escorted them to town. A barbecue was decided upon for July 6 and on that date some 6,000 people assembled in Foote's woods, north of town. The procession formed at the public square and then marched to the grounds where a fat ox was roasted. The welcoming address was made by Dr. Horace N. Benedict. Captain Henry Davis and Lieutenants L. Q. Hoggatt and D. S. Lewis responded.

The Washington county boys were met at New Albany and escorted home. The body of Thomas Barr was buried in Salem. A barbecue and celebration was held near town.

Brookville staged a parade on July 13 in honor of those who had been to Mexico. Early in the day people began to flock in from the country and by eleven o'clock the streets were crowded. A procession was formed at the public square by Major Borrow, and marched to the grove near Butler's Springs, about a mile from town, where the oration was delivered by John M. Johnson, Esq. Colonel Jonathan McCarty responded. Toasts were drunk, cannon saluted, and the band did its best. It was a proud day for Brookville and Franklin county."

The Spencer Greys of New Albany reached home on July 31. A multitude of friends lined the shore. Cannon roared and a flowery arch spanned the street. The Greys brought with them the bodies of Robinson, Goff, Stevens, and Bailey, who fell at Buena Vista. Their funeral was held on the 5th. Thousands witnessed the procession. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Holliday, but only a few of the crowd were able to get within hearing. As the procession moved to

the northern graveyard, minute guns were fired.

At Madison, the citizens crowded the wharf during the first two weeks of July, daily expecting the arrival of friends in the Third. During that time all the First and most of the Third passed thru the city. On the 14th the long expected heroes arrived. The news had spread that a formal welcome and dinner were to be given, and at an early hour the people from the surrounding country began gathering into the city. The companies were drawn up on either side of the stand, prayers were offered, and then General Milton Stapp made the welcoming speech. Colonel James Lane responded for the men.

Brigadier-General Joe Lane came in for his share of the honors. Many invitations were sent him to take part in the festivities over the state. He declined practically all. At Evansville, July 3, a dinner was given, welcoming home Indiana's general. The mayor gave the welcoming address and ended with the toast: "Brigadier-General Joseph Lane, the farmer, statesman and soldier; a worthy and valuable citizen; a brave and successful general and an honor to every station in which fortune has placed him."

Colonel Bowles returned with the Second to New Orleans. The *Indiana Journal* of June 3 reported that Bowles would remain in New Orleans and start a drug store and suggested that that would be a wise move. However, the commander of the Second arrived at New Albany July 11 and stopped at the High Street hotel a day or two before going to his home at Paoli. When next heard of he was preparing "as fast as health would permit" a full and complete account of his own and General Lane's conduct at Buena Vista. This account was to be submitted to the public at an early date.⁴⁵

TWO NEW REGIMENTS

Following the request from the war department of April 19, 1847, calling for another regiment of volunteers from Indiana, came Governor Whitcomb's proclamation of the 24th:

Whereas, By a communication from the Secretary of War, dated the 19th of the present month, which has this day been received, the undersigned is advised that the President of the United States has directed

⁴⁵From *Paoli Telegraph*, in *Indiana Journal*, August 2, 1847.

that a volunteer force be accepted for the war with Mexico, in addition to that already in service; and,

Whereas, The undersigned is, by the said communication, requested to cause to be organized in this State ten companies of infantry constituting one regiment, to serve during the war with Mexico unless sooner discharged; the said troops to be clothed, subsisted, organized, armed, equipped, officered, mustered, and inspected into service in conformity with the rules and regulations contained in the annexed General Order, as gathered from the aforesaid communication, and as enjoyed by law; and,

Whereas, The brilliant victories which have already crowned the arms of the United States during the present war are an earnest that its prompt and energetic prosecution only is required to insure an early, a just and an honorable peace,

Now, Therefore, I, JAMES WHITCOMB, Governor of the State of Indiana, in behalf of our common country, do hereby renew the invitation to the brave, enterprising and patriotic citizens of our State to respond to this call with all possible despatch by organizing themselves into volunteer companies for the aforesaid service, and to report the fact of such organization with the least practical delay to the Adjutant-General of the State. And in conformity with the suggestion of the Secretary of War that a place of rendezvous be appointed on the Ohio river for the several companies as far as they shall be organized, the ground near or adjacent to "Old Fort Clark", near Jeffersonville, on the south, is hereby designated for that purpose.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the State to be hereunto affixed. Done at Indianapolis, the 24th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1847, of the State the thirtieth, and of the independence of the United States the seventy first.

By the Governor,
JAMES WHITCOMB,

JOHN H. THOMPSON,
Secretary of State.

Accompanying the proclamation was general order number nine setting forth the rules and regulations to be followed in organizing the new regiment. As the company, only, had the right of electing officers no one need wait for special orders to raise a company. The personnel of the companies was to be the same as for the first three regiments with the exception that they were to have two second-lieutenants, making ninety-four members in all. The secretary of war suggested that the officers of the additional force were of great importance and that they be judiciously selected. The elections might be held as soon as the company was full without waiting the ten days. The companies were to be inspected and mustered in at Camp

Clark. To each man who had provided himself with six months clothing, twenty one dollars, or six months clothing allowance, was to be advanced. The men were to serve during the war, and all who served, or received honorable discharge, were to receive the bounty of 160 acres or treasury script for one hundred dollars. The companies which had not succeeded in getting in Indiana's first three regiments, if they still desired to enlist, were to be given preference over new ones. General order number ten specified the soldiers' equipment, which was to be practically the same as for the previous regiments.

Six companies were reported as filled to the adjutant-general, May 9, in spite of the busy season and demand for labor. Two days later, Captain Smith arrived in Madison with one hundred and eight men, mostly from Lake county. They appeared to be excellent military material.

The 26th was suggested by Major H. Smith, as a proper time to begin receiving the companies at the rendezvous. Captain Edward Landers left Indianapolis for Camp Clark on that date. The company was made up of fine healthy men. On the 8th this company had been presented a fine banner by General Reynolds, on behalf of the ladies of Indianapolis.

The Marion Guards, John M. Wallace captain, left Marion on the 24th. A procession more than a mile in length escorted them from town about six miles. Farmers volunteered with teams and took them to Edinburgh. All along the line they were patriotically cheered.

Lawrenceburg and vicinity caught the war spirit and raised two companies. When W. T. Baldrige had about filled his company, Ebenezer Dumont caught the fever and organized another.

May 30, the ten new companies were reported and accepted. Again a number of companies almost ready to be reported were too late. The ten companies accepted were: Captains J. M. Wallace, W. T. Baldrige, Edward Landers, J. W. Crook, Jesse G. Alexander, William W. McCoy, Michael Fitzgibbon, Ebenezer Dumont, Daniel Lunderman, and Landon Cochran.

The election of regimental officers for the Fourth took place at Fort Clark, June 16. Willis A. Gorman of Monroe county was elected colonel; Ebenezer Dumont of Dearborn,

lieutenant-colonel, and William W. McCoy, of LaPorte county, major."

The regiment, under command of Colonel Gorman, left New Albany about June 28, on the boats "Saladin", "Ben Franklin No. 6", and "M. B. Hamer". They arrived at New Orleans without adventure and five companies sailed for Brazos, July 7. The five remaining companies left on the 9th on the "Anna Chase" and "Sophia Walker".

Near the mouth of the Sabine river one of the boilers of the "Ann Chase" burst. No one was killed at once but two privates died during the day from injuries received. After the explosion Colonel Gorman, Captain Wallace and about forty men were landed in Louisiana. They did not believe the boat able to go further and expected to find their way to Galveston by some other means. They sent a messenger to Galveston to announce the arrival at the Sabine of the troops who went ashore. The schooner "Starr" was at once despatched thither with provisions for their relief, and to take the men on to Galveston. In the meantime the captain had patched up the damages and as the men on shore did not return, steamed on to Galveston. He reached that port one day before the messenger, the "Starr" picked up the men at Sabine and brought them to Galveston where it and the "Lavina" were chartered to carry them, together with those left, to Brazos.⁴⁸

The Galveston *Civilian* of July 21, in commenting upon the departure of the Indiana troops, said that they had been a quiet and orderly body of men when off duty and ventured that if they behaved as well in battle as they did in the city, there would be no more reproaches cast upon Indiana troops.⁴⁹

General Lane was assigned a new brigade which was made up of the First regiment of infantry, one company of Illinois cavalry, one regiment Indiana infantry, five companies of New Jersey infantry, one company each of cavalry and foot from Florida and five companies of Texas horse.

At the mouth of the Rio Grande the volunteers of the

⁴⁸For captains of the companies see report of Adjutant-General Reynolds, December 1, 1847.

⁴⁹From New Orleans *Picayune*, in *Indiana Sentinel*, July 24, 1847.

⁴⁶New Orleans *Picayune*, from Perry, *Indiana in the Mexican War*. The "Tom Jack" was used to aid these two boats as they could not carry all. *New Albany Democrat*, August 10, 1847.

⁴⁷Quoted from the Galveston *Civilian* in *New Albany Democrat*, August 10, 1847. Perry, p 215.

Fourth changed boats to go up the river. Colonel Gorman, with four companies started up stream on the "Big Hatcher", July 25. Lieutenant-Colonel E. Dumont followed with two companies on the "Colonel Hunt". The remaining four companies were on the "Colonel McKee" at the mouth. All were bound for the camp of instruction. But four men had been lost since leaving Indiana.

On the last day of July Adjutant-General Reynolds wrote to secretary of war Marcy asking information regarding the acceptance of additional companies from Indiana. Captain Philip P. Barbour of New Harmony thot that he could raise a company in a short time and wanted to know if the same would be acceptable. The Cass County volunteers, formerly of the First Indiana, desired to fill their ranks and return to the service. Lieutenant Henry R. Scall of Monroe county, who fought in Major Gorman's rifle battalion at Buena Vista, wished to know whether a mounted rifle company, or one on foot would be accepted and attached to the Fourth. Mr. F. P. Bradley of Daviess county was anxious to raise a company to serve during the war, and desired to know if it would be accepted, and if so, how they would be furnished with the means of reaching the seat of war, and furnishing their own horses, what would be the pay of the various officers and privates, and compensation for horses. Mr. Allen Wilson of Putnam wanted to know whether a light horse company would be received and mustered into service for a term of one year from the 20th of September.

To these requests Secretary Marcy replied, August 11, that the war was not deemed to require, at the time, the additional forces offered from Indiana. Nor could the war department, with propriety encourage the men to raise companies when there was no certainty that they would be received.

In August 1847, a young West Point graduate of Liberty, Indiana, received the appointment of second-lieutenant in Company G, Second regiment artillery. His name was Ambrose E. Burnside. This was the beginning of a military career which culminated in the command of the army of the Potomac fifteen years later. Lieutenant Burnside later became governor of Rhode Island and United States senator.

Hardly two weeks after Secretary Marcy's letter stating that there was no definite prospect for the acceptance of more troops from Indiana, the President granted Colonel James H. Lane of Lawrenceburg, permission to raise a volunteer regiment to be composed principally of officers and men of the Indiana regiments which had previously served in Mexico. The governor was requested to aid in raising the regiment and to designate a place of rendezvous.

In his proclamation Governor Whitcomb invited the patriotic officers and men who had formerly served against Mexico, and such other citizens as would be necessary to complete their numbers, to proceed and organize volunteer companies with all despatch, to serve during the war.⁵⁰ The general order number fourteen, for the organization of the Fifth, set forth regulations identical to those issued for the Fourth. As the authority to raise the regiment was given to Colonel Lane, all companies had to be accepted by him before they could be considered a part of the regiment. In case a company was completed with new recruits, and veterans applied, the last enrolled of the new men would be dropped in favor of the former soldiers. This rule was to hold until the company started its march to the rendezvous. Colonel Lane said that he hoped to form a corps that would do credit to the state and place Indiana where she deserved to stand, the first among the first.

The new regiment was not long in filling. September 23, nineteen days after the governor's proclamation and the general order, the tenth and last company was reported. The companies were:

- K 1. Wayne Guards—Captain D. W. Lewis, Fort Wayne.
- A 2. Indiana Guards—Captain Horace Hull, Madison.
- B 3. Rough and Ready Guards—Captain George Green, Jeffersonville.
- C 4. Covington Guards—Captain R. M. Evans, Covington.
- I 5. Montgomery Boys⁵¹—Captain Allen May, Crawfordsville.
- E 6. Shelbyville Hards—Captain Samuel McKinzey, Shelbyville.

⁵⁰August 31, 1847.

⁵¹Succeeded by M. D. Manson when May became lieutenant-colonel of regiment.

D 7. Hancock Boys—Captain James R. Bracken, Greenfield.

F 8. Center Guards—Captain John McDougall, Indianapolis.

G 9. Grabbers No. 2—Captain Aaron C. Gibbs, Lawrenceburg.

H 10. Washington Guards—Captain E. G. Carey, Marion.

Colonel Lane asked permission for the acceptance of two extra companies to act as "flanking companies."

The rendezvous for the Fifth was Madison. The encampment, on beautiful ground just below the city, faced the Ohio, with a parade ground between the tents and the river. It was named Camp Reynolds in honor of the adjutant-general. October 1 was the date that the companies were promised accommodations. The tents, utensils, etc., were all on hand in time and the organization of the regiment proceeded smoothly. By the 19th all the companies were on hand and anxious to be off. Final arrangements for Mexico were to be made in Nachez. The election of officers took place on the 22d. James H. Lane, who raised the regiment, was elected colonel, Captain Allen May of Montgomery, lieutenant-colonel, and John H. Myers, major.

General orders from Major-General Butler directed the regiment to embark at Madison on the 31st and to draw arms, accoutrements and equipment at Louisville. On reaching New Orleans the men were to be transferred to the gulf vessels, if possible, without landing. If landing were necessary none of the men was to be permitted to enter the city.

The Fifth left Madison, November 1; companies E, D, and F on the "Ne Plus Ultra", companies A, B, and G on the "Phoenix", and companies C, H, and I on the "Wave". Captain Lewis's company, which did not arrive full in time to leave with the regiment was left at Madison until it could be gotten ready.

The day before the regiment's departure Colonel Lane drew up his regiment to receive its colors from Adjutant-General Reynolds. Colonel Lane made a brief response to General Reynold's speech. The regiment passed New Orleans about the 6th and arrived at Vera Cruz two weeks later.

⁶²Perry, from *New Albany Democrat*, October 26, 1847.

THE FOURTH AND FIFTH IN MEXICO

On August 22, Brigadier-General Lane, known to his men as "Rough and Ready No. 2", returned from General Taylor's headquarters with orders to take his brigade and to proceed without delay to Vera Cruz. Lane's brigade, consisting of the Fourth Indiana, an Ohio regiment, a regiment of Illinois volunteers and the Texas Rangers, had been on the upper Rio Grande, near Meir. The Tenth and Sixteenth United States infantry together with General Taylor's command were left to guard the Rio Grande district. When the Fourth reached the mouth of the river there was some disturbance caused by a few who declared that they entered the service for a year only. Before the men could receive their pay they had to sign the muster roll which declared that they had volunteered for "during the war." To this the men replied, "Go to hell with your pay."⁵³

The Fourth, under General Lane reached Vera Cruz, September 16. The men were agreeably surprised by the pleasant three days trip and the beautiful mountain scenery around the city. The men expected to leave in a couple of days for the city of Mexico.

Toward the latter part of September Lane's brigade passed National Bridge, Mexico. His entire force consisted of about 3,000 men. The only opposition met was from guerrilla parties and ambuscades. October 12, General Lane succeeded Colonel Childs in the command of Puebla. He drove out the guerrillas, proclaimed martial law and established order.⁵⁴

On the 9th a part of Lane's forces engaged the enemy under Santa Anna, at the city of Huamantla. Colonel Gorman's regiment, the Fourth Indiana, entered the west side of the city, and succeeded in routing the main body of the enemy and then proceeded to disperse the groups still remaining in the city. The colors of the regiment were placed on the arsenal.⁵⁵ October 18, Lane's forces, including the Fourth Indiana, engaged in a running fight with the Mexicans under General Rea. The cavalry pursued the enemy to Atlixco, where they took refuge. Lane was afraid to risk a street fight in a strange city so placed

⁵³Madison *Courier*, October 2, from Louisville *Courier*, September 28, 1847. Perry p 228.

⁵⁴Report of General Lane. *National Documents*, 1846-7, p 476.

⁵⁵Lane's report of October 18, 1847, *National Documents*, p 477-8.

his battery on a hill overlooking the place and bombarded it. The Americans entered the city without trouble. A quantity of arms and ammunition was found and destroyed. The Mexican loss was two hundred and nineteen killed and three hundred wounded.⁶⁵

Colonel Willis A. Gorman wrote home, January 25, 1848.⁶⁷ The Fourth was still in Puebla, in excellent health and spirits. General Lane was out around Orizaba, Tehuacan, Cordova and vicinity chastizing the guerrillas. Colonel Gorman was left in command of the forces in the city, which besides his own regiment, included a regiment and five companies of Ohio men, four companies of the Fourth artillery, and some Louisiana and Florida volunteers. The troops were well fed with the best that the country afforded. Among the principal items of daily consumption were fresh and salt beef, pork and mutton, flour, rice, corn meal and beans, sugar, coffee and candles with plenty of soap, salt and vinegar. Quarters were established in churches of roomy dimensions and splendid architecture.⁶⁸

From Vera Cruz the Fifth started for the City of Mexico. The march was a tiresome one, as only two halts were made, one of four days at Jalapa and a brief stop at Puebla. Not counting the halts, the march took fourteen days, sometimes at the rate of twenty-five miles per day over roads paved with stone. The Fifth arrived at the Mexican capital, December 17, 1847.

By January the health of the regiment had become affected by the confinement in the city. The men hoped soon to go to their tents at Molino del Rey. By the middle of the month there were from one to three funerals in the regiment every day.⁶⁹ The prevailing diseases were measles and dysentery, which, when combined, were usually fatal.

By March the sickness in the Fifth had decreased. There were but fifteen or sixteen on the sick list which had formerly numbered as high as one hundred and thirty. Colonel Lane was paying quite a bit of attention to the details of military

⁶⁵Lane's official report, *National Documents* p 481.

⁶⁷Letter to *Indiana Sentinel*, April 1, 1848.

⁶⁸Letter from Alexander McClelland, February 20, 1848. In *Indiana Sentinel*, April 8, 1848.

⁶⁹Letter from Captain H. Hull, City of Mexico, January 4, 1848. In *Madison Banner*, March 1, 1848. Perry, p 271.

duty and the men had become very proficient at all the intricate evolutions of drill, etc. The Fourth regiment had also become very well disciplined and about as good as a regiment of the regular army."

THE STATE HONORS THE VOLUNTEERS

The legislature of 1848 took up the work of reforming the militia of the state, rewarding the adjutant-general, honoring the returned veterans and solving the various problems that had grown out of the war.

In January a sword was voted to General Joseph Lane, as a token of the state's appreciation of his services in Mexico. February 10 resolutions were passed recommending the acceptance of the flag of the New Albany Spencer Greys, which had been adopted as the banner of the Second Indiana. The presentation and accepting ceremonies were to take place in the hall of the house of representatives on Saturday, February 12, in the presence of both houses of legislature, the governor, judges of the supreme court and officers of state. The thanks of the Assembly were presented to Captain Sanderson of the Greys for the gift of the flag.

The Assembly further resolved that the volunteers of the state who had responded to the call for military service, had nobly sustained the honor of the state and that the cloud which rested for a time upon the fame of the Second Indiana but added to its honor by inviting a scrutiny into its conduct which showed it to have been brave and dauntless in battle."

The presentation of the flags of the Second and Third regiments took place, February 12. That of the Second was presented by Hon. John S. Davis with a brief speech. Paris C. Dunning made the reply and accepted the flag in behalf of the state of Indiana. The flag had been presented the Greys by the women of New Albany. It came back from a year's campaign tattered and bleached, but the pride of the regiment.

The flag of the Third was presented by Captain Thomas L. Sullivan. It had been a present of the women of Madison to Sullivan's company and was adopted by Colonel Lane as the standard of the regiment. No slurs had been cast upon the

⁸⁰A letter to General Reynolds by an officer, City of Mexico, March 2, 1848, in *Indiana Sentinel*, April 8, 1848.

⁸¹*Documentary Journal*, 1848.

conduct of the regiment and the Third seldom missed a chance to flaunt this fact in the face of the Second. The banner was accepted by Hon. W. A. Porter.

In November 1847, Adjutant-General Reynolds wrote to Secretary of War Marcy, inquiring whether the United States government would defray the expenses he had incurred in organizing the new troops. This work had taken several weeks of his time and \$125.00 of his own funds. Added to this was his office rent of \$43.33 and a fuel, light, and stationery bill of \$28.75. His salary was \$100 leaving a personal outlay of \$97.08. Secretary Marcy replied that nothing could be allowed at that time as the resolution of March 3, 1846 was meant to apply only to expenses, incurred prior to its passage, but very likely there would be further actions taken on the subject.

Along about the same time the *Indiana Journal* made a strong plea for General Reynolds. It stated that the *Sentinel*, the Democratic organ in the capital, was not treating General Reynolds squarely. It had purposely left unprinted the resolutions of the Fourth, expressing gratitude for the services of Reynolds, until public opinion had made it necessary to print them. The *Journal* assigned as the cause the fact that General Reynolds no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Governor as he once had:

There was a time early in Governor Whitcomb's administration when no important measure was adopted and carried out without the approval of the best friend the people ever had. But since the Governor and the Messrs. Bright have been absorbed in State bonds, dividends, etc., General Reynolds is emphatically the peoples friend. He esteems his friends but he loves his country more. He is plain and straight-forward in his course. He would not approve of any mysterious juggling in the administration of public affairs. Should the war cease, General Reynold's influence will again be felt in the administration of the civil affairs of this State, and could he consistently leave his post and fill the place of State Agent in place of Mr. Bright, the public would be as well served and less painful conjectures would be felt as to the manner in which the interest of the State has been husbanded, and we conjecture that the Executive would find himself safer in the councils of General Reynolds than in the advice of his present favorites, the lately appointed Supreme Judges, Dr. Smith and Mr. Perkins⁴³

The General Assembly of 1848 at last gave a tardy recogni-

⁴³Report of Adjutant-General 1847, *Documentary Journal*, 1847.

⁴⁴*Indiana Journal*, November 12, 1847.

tion to the services of the adjutant-general. By an act approved, February 16, 1848, the \$72.08 for fuel, etc., was refunded to him, and the sum of \$150 was allowed for extra services in addition to his salary of \$100.⁴⁴

The quartermaster-general was also paid \$200 for the extra labor which devolved upon him during the year of 1847.

July 10, 1848, a number of boats with volunteers passed Louisville. The men were on their way home to be discharged. On the "Bulletin" came six companies of the Fourth Indiana. They marched thru the city and left for Madison on the "Swiftsure". At Madison these men awaited the rest of the regiment and the Fifth. All were in Madison on the 20th and after being paid were mustered out of service.

Wednesday, July 19, Captain Edward Lander's company of the Fourth, raised in and around Indianapolis, returned on the cars. The men were greeted by the citizens and addressed by General Drake. Two days later Captain Cochran's company, of Vigo, arrived, took dinner in a body at Little's Tavern as invited guests, and left in the afternoon in thirteen wagons sent from home.

Monday evening, July 24, the Democrats of Indianapolis met at the courthouse. James Blake Esq. was called to the chair and Nathaniel Bolton elected secretary. It was resolved that, as the Indiana soldiers had returned, and it was desired to give them a hearty welcome, Brevet-Major-General Joseph Lane be invited to visit Indianapolis at his early convenience. As soon as he should fix upon a time, a general invitation was to be issued to all the officers and soldiers in Indiana who had taken part in the war, so that a public manifestation of gratitude might be given them. Captain Landers was called upon and spoke eloquently to the assembled crowd.⁴⁵

The Center Guards, Captain John McDougal; the Covington Guards, Captain R. M. Evans; and the Washington Guards, Captain David Shunk, of the Fifth regiment returned to Indianapolis Monday, July 31. Arrangements had been made to receive them. A dinner was prepared at the hotel of Mr. Coats, and all were invited to dine there. General Reynolds met the cars about four miles out and informed the men of the plans made. At the station a military escort under Captain G.

⁴⁴*Laws of Indiana*, 1848.

⁴⁵*Indiana Sentinel*, July 25, 1848.

A. Chapman, met the cars. But the men were so anxious to see their friends that it was impossible to form them in line of march. A number, however, took advantage of the dinner, at the close of which, Governor Whitcomb made a short speech.

Friday, August 11, Captain Landon Cochran's company of the Fourth and Company C, Captain John Osborn, of the Second, together with a number of other volunteers, attended a barbecue on the line of Clay and Vigo counties. About three thousand citizens attended the jollification. The ex-soldiers were welcomed by Stephen C. Dodge.*

About the middle of September the people of Indianapolis began making plans for a big free barbecue to be held early in October. One of the members of the general committee announced that the Democratic ladies of the city would be ready, October 4, with fifteen hundred pies for the occasion.

Wednesday, October 5, eight to ten thousand Indianians assembled at the capital to honor the men who had been in the war against Mexico. A long procession marched to the Palmer House. There several hundred volunteers formed into line and all marched to the grove. Speeches were made by Hon. Edward Hannegan, Lieut. Col. Allen May and Thomas J. Henley. After dinner Col. James H. Lane, who had been delayed on the road, spoke on the record of Indiana's sons in the war.

In August came the news of the appointment of General Joseph Lane as governor of the territory of Oregon. By this appointment Indiana lost one of her most popular citizens. Many were hoping that he would decline the honor conferred upon him by the President. But General Lane accepted and the rest of his long life was spent on the Pacific coast.

Joseph Lane entered Indiana as a boy of fifteen, coming to Darlington, Warrick county. He worked in the clerk's office and a dry goods store until 1821 when at the age of twenty he got married. He then settled on a farm just across in Vanderburg. The following year, before he was twenty one he was elected to the Indiana legislature and had to wait until he was of age to take his seat. From that time until the Mexican war he sat almost continually in one or another of the branches of the state legislature. The war began while he was serving in the senate, but he volunteered and as a private came to New

**Indiana Sentinel*, August 30, 1848.

Albany in Captain Walker's company of the Second. When the election of field officers of that regiment took place Lane was elected colonel. July 1, he received his commission of brigadier-general and took command of the Indiana troops.

General Lane's record in command of this brigade, and of the new one given him in June 1847, was an honorable one. He was a favorite of the volunteers and familiarly known as "Old Rough and Ready No. 2". As a general, Lane was one of the most energetic, pushing, indomitable men in the war. No danger or labor was too great for him. It was commonly said that he had one great fault; he never slept, himself, and seemed to forget that it was necessary for others to do so. On the march he dispensed with drums and used the crowing of the cock as his reveille.

On his second campaign Lane's moves against the guerillas were so sudden and effective that he became known as the "Marion of the Mexican War". That title stuck to him until he left the state.

(To be continued.)



Memoir of Colonel Isaac White

of Knox County, Indiana

By GEORGE FAUNTLEROY WHITE, grandson of Col. Isaac White

The subject of this sketch, Isaac White, was born in Prince William county, Virginia, shortly after the beginning of the Revolutionary war. The exact year of his birth is not now positively known, but from the record of his initiation, in 1811, as a member of Masonic Lodge, No. 1, of Vincennes, Indiana, in which his age is stated to be 35 years, and from certain interesting family notes written by Mrs. Sarah M. Hayden, which are as yet unpublished, it is altogether likely that he was born in the year 1776. His father, who probably was of English origin, was a man of education and good family, and prior to his settling in Virginia had held a captain's commission in the British merchant marine service. Surrendering this office, he purchased a large tract of land in Prince William county, and successfully devoted himself to farming until the war of the Revolution began, when, taking up arms against the tyranny of the British government, he lost his life near the end of the war nobly fighting for the independence of his adopted country. The old house where this patriot lived—a substantial, roomy, stone structure, indicating in all its arrangements that it was the home of a cultured and hospitable gentleman—is still standing, in an excellent state of preservation, near Brentsville, the county seat of Prince William county. In this house Isaac White was born, as was his elder brother, Thomas, and one younger sister, Katie, and here he continued to live with his mother, assisting her, as he grew in age and experience, in the management of the estate, until he had nearly reached his twenty-fourth year, when an unhappy event in his mother's life impelled him and his brother to seek a new and more adventurous career in the great Northwest territory. It seems that on an occasion when the two sons and all the male servants of the plantation were absent from home, a strange man called at the house and asked for something to eat, a request which, in accordance with the hospitality of those

days, was at once complied with; but not satisfied with this kind of treatment, and seeing only women about, he demanded the keys of the drawers where the family treasure was kept, and on being refused them by Mrs. White, he endeavored by ruffianly violence to take them from her person. Her screams attracted the attention of a neighbor—a bachelor gentleman—who being out on a hunting expedition, and fortunately passing at the time, rushed in and brained the would-be robber on the spot. The gratitude of Mrs. White to her gallant rescuer (who after judicial inquiry was not only exonerated from all blame but extolled for his bravery), and no doubt the appreciation of the gentleman, who was in rather needy circumstances, for Mrs. White's comfortable home and broad acres, brought about in little time a marriage, which, while it may have given happiness to the contracting parties, gave eminent displeasure to the two sons; so much so that they remained with their mother only long enough to see their sister happily and eligibly married, when, without any great superfluity of money, they bade adieu to the old homestead, and made their way to Vincennes, soon afterwards to be the seat of government of Indiana territory. This was in the beginning of 1800.

Naturally the advent of an enterprising man—handsome, brave, well-bred, and full of spirit, such as young White was at this time—was calculated to create some little excitement in any village of a sparsely settled country; and so it did at Vincennes. He won his way at once to the hearts of everybody whose goodwill was worth having. Not only was he welcomed by the elders of the village, but he was a special favorite with the young ladies. In Mrs. Hayden's unpublished notes, before referred to, the following statement occurs regarding the family of Judge George Leech, then living at Vincennes, and particularly of his eldest daughter, Sallie, who soon became young White's wife. Mrs. Hayden's statement is substantially a repetition of the artless recital of her mother, formerly Miss Amy Leech, a sister of Sallie, and the wife of Hon. John Marshall, for many years the president of the Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown:

Their eldest daughter, Sallie, Mrs. Hayden says, was now approaching a marriageable age, and her beauty and loveliness of manner attracted the attention and won the affections of a young Virginian, who had recently moved to their vicinity, Mr. Isaac White. Like the natives of his

state, he had a courtly, aristocratic bearing, which some of the country people, in their inaccurate dialect, called pompous. He was quite a beau, and considered the best prize in the matrimonial field at that time. But while he rode with, and visited, and went to the simple merry-makings of the day with ——— and other gay and dashing girls, it was not from among them that he cared to select a wife. He required in the one who should be the companion of a life-time the tender graces of a truer womanhood. Many were surprised that this modest unassuming girl should have won the love of so gallant a young man, or that, with his aspirations, he should have been willing to marry a poor girl. It was a source of gratification to the parents that their sweet wild-wood blossom had made so excellent a match, and they accordingly set to work to do the best they possibly could in the momentous affair.

Mrs. Hayden says further :

A wedding-dinner was prepared, to which most all the people of the surrounding country were invited; but mother smilingly added, when narrating this (alluding to the smallness of the population), that the guests were not very numerous after all. I do not know who officiated, but presume Judge Luke Decker, because when my mother was married, a few years later, grandfather wished to have him perform the ceremony; but she refused, preferring her own father, who was then a judge of probate.

The gentleman, Judge George Leech, into whose family Isaac White thus entered, had emigrated to Vincennes from Louisville, Kentucky, with his brother Francis and other relatives and friends, in the year 1784, and they had all selected homesteads in Knox county; but after a three-years' sojourn, and owing to Indian depredations and barbarities (Judge Leech having his house burned over his head by them), and all, with the exception of Francis Leech, who had died, moved back to Louisville. Nine years later, in 1796, Judge Leech again emigrated to Vincennes; but the governor of the Northwest territory refused him permission to reoccupy the land on which he had formerly lived, although it was still vacant, and he was therefore compelled to occupy the land which had belonged to his brother. Afterwards, when Gen. William Henry Harrison was appointed governor of Indiana territory, Judge Leech was granted 100 acres more, and this tract, which he gave as a marriage present to his daughter, and which is now a part of what is known as the White-Hall farm in Knox county, was the nucleus of a very considerable estate, which Colonel White acquired after his marriage.

Like all pioneers in a new country, Isaac White and his wife

had plenty of hardships to encounter; but they had also the sympathy and friendship of their neighbors—characteristics that are so often met among people who have left the comforts of civilization to brave the privations of new life in the forest or on the prairie. An illustration of the friendly help which the settlers in a new country are so ready to give one another when necessary is shown in the fact that on one occasion when the home of the Whites was burned to the ground, their friends and neighbors from all parts of the county, with one accord “pitched in,” to use the vernacular of the west, and in a few weeks reared them a larger, more substantial, and altogether more comfortable home (of hewn logs, be it understood) than the one that had been burned. In this house the eldest child of the young couple, George W. L. White, was born; here they bravely struggled year after year for the advancement of their earthly interests, not forgetting their spiritual ones; and here they enjoyed that happiness which, whether in the log-house or in the palace, can come only from love and the exercise of virtue and industry. They were reckoned among the best people of the territory, and their friendliness of character, charity, and public spirit were conspicuous traits. Among others, they became friends of Governor Harrison and his family, and the friendship thus begun was transmitted to their children.

A striking evidence of this friendship of the governor is shown in his appointment of Mr. White as agent of the United States at the salt works on Saline creek, in Illinois, contiguous to the present village of Equality, in Gallatin county. The following is a copy of this appointment:

INDIANA TERRITORY.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the
Indiana Territory,

(Seal.) To all who shall see these presents, Greeting:

Know ye, that in pursuance of instructions from the President of the United States, I have constituted and appointed, and do by these presents constitute and appoint, Isaac White, of Knox county, to be agent for the United States, to reside at the Salt Works on Saline Creek, for the purpose of receiving and selling the salt, and to perform such other acts and things as the government of the United States may think proper to charge him with. This commission to continue during pleasure.

Given under my hand and the seal of the territory, at Vincennes, this

30th day of April, 1805, and of the Independence of the United States the twenty-ninth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

By the Governor:

JNO. GIBSON, Secretary.

Among the persons employed by Isaac White, in his capacity of government agent of these salt works, was John Marshall, a man of the most sterling character, and who afterwards, as a banker, acquired a great reputation both in Indiana and Illinois. In the following year their connection became closer still—Marshall having married Mrs. White's younger sister, Amy Leech. The following reference to this interesting event occurs in Mrs. Hayden's notes before mentioned:

The marriage occurred on the 21st of October, 1806, and accompanied by Colonel White and her sister (Mrs. White), they—that is, young Marshall and his bride—set out next day for the salt works, where their home was to be for the present—he (Marshall) being employed as book-keeper by Colonel White.

Mrs. Hayden has unconsciously fallen into a slight anachronism in referring here to Isaac White as "colonel". He had not as yet reached that honor, but he had, a little more than a month before, been appointed a captain of the Knox county militia, as the following copy of his commission will show:

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Indiana Territory, to ISAAC WHITE, Esq., of the County of Knox, Greeting:

Reposing special trust and confidence in your fidelity, courage, and good conduct, I have appointed you a captain of a company in the ——— battalion of the ——— regiment of the militia of the County of Knox, and you are hereby appointed accordingly. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duties of a captain, in leading, ordering and exercising the said company in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline; and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their captain, and you, yourself, to observe and follow such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from me or your superior officers.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto caused the seal of the territory to be affixed the eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the thirty-first.

(Territorial Seal.)

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON.

By the Governor's command:

JNO. GIBSON, Secretary.

(Endorsement): Wm. H. Harrison to Isaac White. Commission in militia. Captain.

On the 10th day of September, 1806, personally came before me the within-named Isaac White, and had administered unto him the oath to support the Constitution of the U. S.

WILLM. H. HARRISON.

ISAAC WHITE, Esq. Captain. Militia. Knox County.

How long the salt-works agency lasted cannot be stated; it is presumed not very long, however, for, from the papers now in the hands of Colonel White's descendants, it would seem probable that, under a statute of the United States then in existence—the act of congress of March 3, 1803—which authorized the leasing of salt springs belonging to the government, Colonel White had in 1807 acquired a private interest in the salt works, which he held until shortly before his death, finally disposing of it, with other business interests, to Wilkes, Taylor & Co., and returning to Vincennes. As lessee of the springs, he acquired considerable wealth, the manufacture of salt being quite lucrative, and the celebrated Kanawha salt springs in Virginia not being then discovered, so that the Illinois works supplied the whole territory.

While residing at these salt works Colonel White had two daughters born to him—Harriet Grandison, on June 12, 1808, and Juliet Grenville, on July 30, 1810. While there, also, he was appointed a colonel, probably in the militia of Illinois territory, which was organized under the act of congress of February 3, 1809. The commission of Colonel White is unfortunately lost, but the evidence of his having received it is conclusive, and, indeed, undisputed.

An incident occurred some time after his appointment as colonel which shows at once the tenderness of the love he bore to his family and his coolness and courage. It seems that, unlike most Virginians of that age, he was morally opposed to duelling; but, like most men of the present day, he felt that occasions may arise when that mode of settling grievances is alone possible. Such an occasion actually arose in his life, and the preparations he made to meet it are partly told in the following letter to his wife, written a day or two after a brief visit to his family, who were then at Vincennes:

United States Saline, May 23, 1811.

Dear and Loving Wife: I got home this day about ten o'clock, after

a great deal of fatigue and danger with the high water. I had liked to have strangled in the North Forke.

When you receive this I expect I shall be mingled with the dust. The day after to-morrow I am to fight a duel with Captain Butler. He gave the first insult, and on my retorting he challenged me. I accepted it. We are to fight at six feet distance, and I expect we both will fall. But death to me has not the terrors that it is represented to have.

I am very anxious for the welfare of you and my dear children. O, did you but know the pangs I felt at parting with you and them. When my poor little son cried, I had hard work to smother my grief. You, I have no doubt, will be tender and kind to them; try and keep me in their remembrance. I have left you the negroes, and have tried to induce John Justice to stay with you until he is of age. You will have to sell Sukey and the children. Bob will stay with you his life-time. With the money you get for Sukey and children you can buy you one that is held in slavery in the Territory. I think that you had better have the house finished and live to yourself. I shall leave everything in the care of your brother Francis, who, I have no doubt, will act with tenderness and care towards you.

My sword, epaulettes, and watch and dirk I want left to George. In making my will I was actuated by the best of motives, and if I have not left you as much as you think I ought to have left you, you will forgive me when you reflect that what has not been left to you I leave to your children, with a small exception. I repeat, again, * * I cannot say more on the subject. So farewell, my dearest, forever! I am yours,

ISAAC WHITE.

To SALLY WHITE.

Kiss George, Harriet and Juliet a thousand times for me.

The meeting which Colonel White speaks of in the above letter actually took place, according to agreement between the parties, at a place now called Union Springs, in Kentucky, opposite Shawneetown; but the result of it was rather different from what he expected. Both parties were on time; but when the seconds finally announced that the weapons selected were horse-pistols and the distance six feet, the challenging party protested that such an arrangement was murderous, and gave no chance for life on either side. Colonel White's friends and himself, however, were determined, and insisted on the arrangement, when the challenger left the field, whole in body, and no doubt less inclined to offer challenges thereafter.

It will be noticed in the letter of Colonel White, and also in his will, which is hereto appended, that he speaks of his slaves, and advises his wife to purchase others—a circumstance that at first blush appears a little singular, in view of the fact that, by the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, slavery or in-

voluntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, was forever prohibited in the Northwest territory, or in any territories or states to be formed out of it. It is an historical fact, however, that notwithstanding this great law, which is an enduring monument to the wisdom and humanity of the legislative body that enacted it, slavery continued to exist in the Northwest territory, and especially in Indiana, for many years. Indeed, we find from Dillon's *History of Indiana* that the first legislative convention called by Governor Harrison in 1802 was mainly for the purpose of petitioning congress to revoke the Ordinance of 1787 so far as it related to slavery—a petition which no doubt was fully approved of by the governor, but which, after an able report from the illustrious John Randolph, of Virginia, against it, was emphatically denied. Even when it became impossible, as it did afterwards, to enforce slavery in Indiana, many negroes were held under indenture for long terms of years, which practically amounted to slavery, and many, from mere habit, or by their own consent, continued substantially in that condition. One of these latter cases Colonel White refers to in his letter.

Shortly after Colonel White's sale of his interest in the Illinois salt works and his return to Vincennes, he had been initiated and passed as an apprentice and fellow-craft mason in the Masonic lodge at Vincennes, then under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, and on the 18th of September, 1811, he was raised to the degree of a Master Mason by his friend, the celebrated Colonel Jo. Daviess, Grand Master of Kentucky, who had come to Vincennes to offer his services to General Harrison in an expected campaign against the confederation of Indians which Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, were industriously endeavoring to form as a means of preventing the further advance of white settlements. The troubles arising out of the machinations of these two chiefs had then reached a point when active measures by the territorial authorities became imperative, and Harrison, determining that an invasion of the Indian country was necessary, was busy with his preparations therefor. In the force that was to be raised for this expedition, Colonel White had earnestly requested to have his regiment included, or at least as much of it as could be readily made available; but General Harrison,

feeling that, with the regular troops he had ordered to Vincennes, enough militia was already on hand to serve his purposes, and indeed not being certain that any severe fighting would be necessary, felt compelled to decline the request. Colonel White was not the man, however, to give up, for this reason, his determination to take part in the expedition. With the consent of his friend Colonel Daviess, he enrolled himself as a private in the battalion of dragoons which Harrison had placed under that officer's command, and when the expedition started, on the 26th of September—eight days after he had been made a Master Mason—White accompanied it.

An affecting incident in connection with the enlistment of Colonel White was an exchange of swords between him and Colonel Daviess—an exchange to which fate gave an awful solemnity when, afterwards, on the field of Tippecanoe, the weapon of White was found buckled to the belt of Daviess, and the sword of Daviess was held in the iron grip of his friend.

It will be remembered that the expedition of General Harrison, which culminated in the victory of Tippecanoe, left Vincennes on the 26th of September, 1811, and that on the afternoon of the 6th of November following, the little army encamped on the banks of Burnet's creek, seven miles north of the present city of Lafayette, and a short distance from the Prophet's town, where a large body of Indians were supposed to be on the war-path. The battle began early on the morning of the 7th by a sudden attack of the Indians on that portion of the camp where Daviess and his battalion were stationed. Part of the fire of the Indians, proceeding from a clump of trees some distance in front, was so deadly that Daviess was ordered to dislodge them, which, at the head of a detachment of twenty picked men from his force, he at once proceeded gallantly to do; but, unhappily, his ardor was too great, and the little force with him, which included Colonel White, was driven back, Daviess and his friend both being mortally wounded. They died upon the battle-field and were buried side by side—the temporary inequality of rank, of which the noble nature of both men had hardly suffered them to be conscious, being thus forever removed.

At a public installation of the officers of a Masonic lodge at Evansville many years ago, Hon. John Law, in a closing

address to the lodge, made the following reference to the death of these two brave men, which, though inaccurate in its statement that Daviess came to Vincennes in command of a corps of mounted Kentucky rangers, and that Colonel White commanded a regiment at the battle of Tippecanoe, is sufficiently interesting to quote in this place:

On the 18th day of September, 1811, Judge Law said, Joseph H. Daviess, grand master of the grand lodge of Kentucky, came to Vincennes, commanding a corps of mounted rangers, then on their route to the battle-field of Tippecanoe, where the battle was fought with the Indians in November of the same year, and where Daviess was killed while making a brilliant and unsuccessful charge on his savage foes. His remains now rest, where they properly should, on the bloody field where he fought so bravely, and where, after the battle, I saw them nearly half a century since, deposited under a majestic oak of the forest near where he fell, on the soil of Indiana, fattened with the best blood of our people, and mingled with that of our friends and neighbors from the south side of the Ohio, who came to our assistance, and to whom we owe a debt of gratitude which should never be forgotten to the latest generation. The county of Daviess was named after him. While at Vincennes with his regiment he acted as master of the lodge there, and conferred the degree of Master Mason on Col. Isaac White, the grandfather of our esteemed friend, Isaac White, now a citizen of Evansville, and named after him. Colonel White also commanded a regiment from Knox county, and fell on the same field. It is a singular fact that these noble men, the master and neophyte—he who gave the masonic degree of master mason, and he who received it—in less than two months after, fell on the same battle-field, killed by the same foe, and were buried side by side, with their martial cloaks around them. Two more noble men or braver soldiers, or true and faithful brethern of the order, never sacrificed their lives in the defence of their country. May we not hope and believe that both these true and loyal brothers have been transferred from earth to haven?

Lieutenant George Leech, the brother-in-law of Colonel White, and who was a participant in the battle, is also authority for the statement that Daviess and White were buried side by side, under an oak tree which he had marked, but which an inability to revisit the battle-ground had afterwards prevented him from permanently identifying.

Colonel White was in the 36th year of his age when he died. He was widely known, and universally beloved. Liberal and charitable—not the least bit penurious or avaricious—he yet amassed a considerable fortune for that day, his lands amounting to several thousand acres, and his personal property being not insignificant. His character was without re-

proach—treachery and cowardice, deceit, and all forms of meanness, being hateful to him. A loving husband and father, a kind and steadfast friend, a good and enterprising citizen, and a patriotic and gallant soldier—he, like hundreds of others of the pioneers of Indiana, who settled within her borders to hew their way to fame and fortune, has left a name which should not be permitted to be soon forgotten. This, indeed, is not likely to happen; for two great states—Indiana and Illinois—in order to perpetuate his memory, have, as will appear from the historical notices below, given his name to two prosperous counties within their respective borders.

He left a widow, who in 1816 married again, her second husband being Samuel Marshall, the brother of John Marshall; but she died three years later, in 1819. He also left three children—Geogre Washington Leech White, afterwards a prominent citizen of Indiana, who by commission from Governor Coles, of Illinois, served as lieutenant-colonel and aide-de-camp to Major-General Willis Hargraves in the Black-Hawk war; Harriet Grandison White, who married Albert Gallatin Sloo, at White Hall farm, in Knox county; and Juliet Greenville White, who married James Huffman. From Colonel White's son, who married Miss Eliza Griffin Fauntleroy, of Kentucky, are descended Colonel George Fauntleroy White, now a citizen of Knox county (who has participated in two wars, the Mexican war and the late War of the Rebellion), and Dr. Isaac T. White, for many years a prominent citizen of Evansville, Indiana. From the eldest daughter of Colonel White are descended, among others, Major A. G. Sloo, now clerk of the Knox county circuit court, his brother, Thomas Sloo, a citizen of the same county, and his sister, Sarah E. Sloo, who married Col. Francis E. McIlvaine, Mary Frances Sloo, who married her cousin, Col. Geo. F. White, before mentioned, Juliet White Sloo, who married R. M. Corwine, and Harriet White Sloo, who is still unmarried—the father of all these being Colonel Albert G. Sloo, who in his day, as a man of immense enterprise and at one time of great wealth, was known from one end of the United States to the other.

The following notices concerning Colonel White will perhaps give some further idea of his standing at the time of his death.

From the *Indiana Gazetteer* of 1849, page 106, "Battle of Tippecanoe":

Among the slain, who were much lamented, were Maj. Daviess and Col. Owen, of Ky.; Capt. Spencer, and his lieutenants, McMahan and Berry; Capt. Warrick, and Col. White, then superintendent of the United States Saline lands, near Shawneetown; and Thos. Randolph, Esq., former Attorney-General of the Territory. The two latter served merely as privates on this occasion.

From Dillon's *History of Indiana*, page 471:

At the Battle of Tippecanoe the loss of the army under the command of General Harrison amounted to 37 killed in the action, and 151 wounded, of which 25 afterwards died of their wounds. Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, * * * and Colonel Isaac White, were among those who were killed or mortally wounded in the battle.

From General Harrison's letter to the Indiana House of Representatives quoted at page 477 of Dillon's *History of Indiana*:

I cannot believe that you have the smallest tincture of that disposition, which certainly elsewhere prevails, to disparage the conduct of the militia, and to deprive them of their share of the laurels which have been so dearly purchased by the blood of some of our best and bravest citizens. No! I can never suppose that it was your intention to insult the shades of Spencer, McMahan, and Berry, by treating with contempt the corps which their deaths have contributed to immortalize: nor will I believe that a Daviess, a White, a Randolph, and a Mahan have been so soon forgotten, or that the corps to which they belonged, and which faithfully performed its duty, was deemed unworthy of your notice. The omission was certainly occasioned by a mistake; but it is a mistake by which, if not rectified, the feelings of a whole country, and part of another, now abounding with widows and orphans, the unhappy consequences of the late action, will be wounded and insulted.

From the *Indiana Gazetteer* of 1849, page 433:

White County, Indiana, organized in 1834, was named in honor of Col. Isaac White, of Gallatin county, Illinois, who volunteered his services as a private in the Tippecanoe campaign, and fell at the side of Major Daviess in the battle.

From the *Black Hawk and Mexican War Record*, prepared and published under authority of the 32nd General Assembly, by Isaac H. Elliott, Adjutant-General of the State of Illinois, page 320:

The Prophet's attack on General Harrison with a force of over 700 men, under cover of darkness, and his ultimate defeat and flight, with

a serious loss of killed and wounded, is a part of the history of our country which concerns us only, as our Illinois troops participated in the victory. This battle, which took place on the 6th day of November, 1811, cost the lives of 37 killed outright and 25 mortally wounded, who afterwards died, and these were the very flower of the young settlers of Indiana and Illinois Territories. Among the killed in this battle was Captain Isaac White—for whom White county (Illinois) was afterwards named—who commanded a company of Illinois troops raised in Saline county, of which we possess no roll. Here also fell Major Joe Daviess, whose name is also perpetuated in the county of that name; and of the others whose names are not recorded—nor have they been perpetuated—we can only say they did their duty bravely, and the sacrifice of their own lives saved those of hundreds of women and children who might otherwise have fallen ready victims to the cruelty of the vicious savages.

From an address delivered by John Lagow, Esq., an honorable and respected citizen of seventy years' standing, at the Old Settlers' meeting at Vincennes, May 30, 1878:

I have seen Tecumseh often, and his brother, the Prophet. They were shrewd Indians. I knew many of the men that fought at the battle of Tippecanoe who were badly wounded; for instance, old Tom White, a very clever old gentleman. He was shot through the breast and had a silk handkerchief drawn through it frequently to cleanse it before it healed. He got well and lived many years after. * * * He, too, was the man who killed Popendick, a very bad Indian at Fort Harrison, who had threatened his life if he ever saw him outside of the fort.

Mr. Lagow further said:

Tom White's brother, Colonel Isaac White, a very brave and noble man, the father of George W. L. White, and father-in-law of the late Albert G. Sloo, Esq., was killed in the battle of Tippecanoe.

Letter of Judge John Law to Isaac T. White, dated July 19, 1867:

Evansville, Ind., July 19, 1867.

To Dr. ISAAC T. WHITE,

My Dear Sir: In examining the records of the Vincennes Lodge, No. 1, which was the first lodge ever instituted in Indiana, and I might with truth say from the Miami river to the Pacific ocean (the lodge was organized at Vincennes, September 1, 1808), I find that Col. Joseph H. Daviess, grand master of the grand lodge of Kentucky (the lodge at Vincennes then being under the jurisdiction of the grand lodge of Kentucky), was at Vincennes, and that on the 18th of September, 1811 (two months before the battle of Tippecanoe), he presided over the lodge at Vincennes.

I further find that on September 19, 1811, as master of the lodge, he conferred the degree of Master Mason on your grandfather, Isaac White.

It is a little singular that in two months afterwards your grandfather, who received the degree, and Colonel Daviess, who conferred it, should both have fallen on the battle-field of Tippecanoe. I think it is a circumstance worthy of remembrance, by his descendants, and probably unknown to them.

Very truly yours, JOHN LAW.

The following is a copy of the will of Colonel White, which, giving as it does, some indication of the extent of his possessions, and conveying indirect information concerning the existence of slavery in Indiana, is of both personal and historical interest. In connection with this will there are two circumstances, to which special attention may not inappropriately be called. The first is that it was written by Colonel White himself, which, considering its lawyer-like accuracy and precision, gives some idea of his education and business intelligence; the second is that it was written on the same day as was the letter to his wife, hereinbefore quoted—a fact which, remembering that he was on the eve of a duel, that he had every reason to believe would result fatally to himself, shows his coolness and perfect self-possession:

In the name of God, Amen! I, Isaac White, of the United States Saline, do make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is signed with my own hand, to be my last will and testament, declaring at the same time that it is the first and only one that I have made.

All my debts, of which there are but few and none of magnitude are to be punctually paid, and the legacies bequeathed are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed hereinafter.

To my dearly beloved wife, Sarah White, I give and bequeath all my household and kitchen furniture, all my stock and farming utensils, and all my negroes, except as is hereafter expected, to her and her heirs forever. I also give to her during her natural life the tract of land which I purchased of Daniel Smith and George Leech, containing two hundred acres; but if she, my wife, accedes to this my will, it is also my will that she shall raise my three children, George Washington White, Harriet G. White, and Juliet G. White, without any expense to my estate, except so much as will pay for their schooling.

It is my will that my son George have a classical education; that he may be taught fencing and dancing; and that he may be sent one year to a military school; and that after he be so taught, he be allowed to follow the profession or occupation that he himself may choose. It is further my will that my daughters Harriet and Juliet have a good English education.

I give and bequeath to my son, George Washington White, all my es-

tate, real and personal (except that part which I have given to my wife and is hereafter excepted), he paying to his sister Harriet, at the time she becomes of age or gets married, fifteen hundred dollars, and unto his sister Juliet one thousand dollars at the time she becomes of age or gets married, after paying for their schooling.

I give and bequeath to my nephews, Charles White and John Justice, a tract of land containing four hundred and sixty-four acres and seventy poles, one moiety to each of them, to be so divided according to quality and quantity, providing that after John Justice goes to school this year, he goes home and continues to live with his aunt, Sarah White, until he is twenty-one years of age; if not, the moiety that was intended for him to revert back to George Washington White.

I give and bequeath to my niece, Betsy White, one mare, saddle and bridle, to be worth one hundred dollars in cash, to be paid when she becomes of age or gets married.

Should it happen that any of the legatees except George W. White should die before they are by this my last will to receive their legacies, than then and in that case the whole of the said legacies are to revert to the said George W. White. But should it please God that he should die before he comes of age, or after he becomes of age without issue, I will that then and in that case the whole of the estate, both real and personal, is to be divided equally between his sisters, Harriet G. and Juliet G. White.

I give and bequeath to Francis Leech all my books, maps, and backgammon table.

It is further my will that my executors collect all the debts that are due me, together with what may hereafter become due, and after paying my debts, &c., to vest the balance in bank stock.

Should Thomas White wish to improve the tract of land which I have given to his son Charles, I hereby request that my executors devise it in the manner before mentioned.

I give and bequeathed to George Leech, junior, my two-year-old colt called the Phaeton.

I constitute George Leech, John Marshall, and Francis Leech, or any two of them, executors of this my last will and testament.

In witness of all and each of the things herein contained, I have set my hand and seal this 23d day of May, 1811.

The tract of land which I have bequeathed my nephews, Charles White and John Justice, lies on the south side of White river, and is the one I purchased of Toussaint Dubois.

In presence of

ISAAC WHITE.

G. C. HARLT,
FRANCIS LEECH.

The New Albany-Salem Railroad— Incidents of Road and Men

By THOMAS CARTER PERRING, an employe, Oroville, California

STAGE COACH DAYS

The old Virginia covered wagon and the Concord stage coaches were the first public conveyances for freight, mail and passenger into and out of Monroe county, Indiana. They were much in evidence in the late thirties and the early forties of the last century. Anyone who owned a four-horse team and a strong wagon could do freighting. These masters of "prairie schooners" in Hoosier dialect were called "wagoners". Their occupation was spoken of as "going to the river", signifying Louisville, Kentucky on the Ohio river, at that time the only city market recognized in this western country. These wagons going were loaded with fruit, grain and produce. The return load was merchandise for our storekeepers and townspeople. It was a sort of gypsy life—camping out at night, and traveling by day. In fair weather it was an easy, pleasant and profitable business. The wagoners usually managed for purpose of company and assistance to travel in bunches of from four to six wagons. It took from six to ten days to make the round trip, dependent on condition of the roads.

The first roads in this country were nothing better than a narrow trail chopped out through the dense forests, dug down from the hill sides, following crooked streams, meandering through level valleys and going around hills by every easiest way. These roads were scripturally made, just as our first parent, Adam, of dirt, but not like his make pronounced good by the maker. Their names were mud and sometimes "knee deep in June."

The New Albany and Salem railroad did not digress very much from the dirt road line, and it was just as fearfully and wonderfully made when first built. In the high thirties of eighteen hundred J. O. and S. M. Orchard, enterprising hotel owners of Bloomington secured a United States mail contract,

and acquired a stage coach line for transportation of mail and passengers from Louisville, Kentucky to Indianapolis, Indiana and return passing through Bloomington and all intermediate towns north and south on what at that date had become known as the state road.

The Orchards were pioneers; they owned the first and only hotel in Bloomington, the "Temperance Inn" a well known hostelry and a noted landmark for sixty-five years. The hotel stood on the lots now occupied by the George Benckart stores. This hotel with the stables attached on the lots west of the railroad station and tracks was headquarters for the Orchard mail and stage coach line.

The Orchard stage coaches were of latest Concord pattern, the best make manufactured. The bodies swung on great double thongs of heavy leather on strong freight-like wagon wheels built for service and durability.

The mails were taken on in locked sacks and placed in a strong locked box under the driver's seat for safety and protection. Passengers were crowded into cross seats inside, alternately facing each other, one-half of them riding backwards. "Always room for one more", they were crowded in sometimes, pressed together like dried apples in a packing box. The luggage was lashed onto a drop contraption out behind called the "stage boot", because it looked like anything but a boot, except it was made out of waterproof leather. And such a mixed lot of curious baggage it did sometimes hold. Small hair-bristling, horsehide trunks, stuffed bags of coarse carpet make and emigrant junk of every old thing, all under the name of "luggage".

The motor power of these stages was four to six dapple gray horses, necks bowed up like fish hooks, and the largest and the strongest that were obtainable. From hard driving and fatigue horses had to be changed at intervals of about twelve miles. There were three regular changes or relays of horses in Monroe county in either direction travelled. South at Col. John McRea's stable one mile south of Harrodsburg. In Bloomington at "Temperance Inn" stables where every passing team and stage from either direction put up over night. The north relay was at widow Sara Corr's Hindoostan post office, Ed Corr's grandmother.

The time made by these stages was contingent on the condition of the dirt roads, a day's run was about sixty miles and usually made in daylight. One of Orchard's stages left Louisville, Kentucky and another left Indianapolis, Indiana every Monday morning, each making one round trip per week, three days in each direction, loaded with mail and passengers. On this schedule Bloomington had four through mails and conveyances for travel each week which was the limit until the arrival of the New Albany and Salem railroad.

The stage drivers on the high seat on top were the whole thing: mail carriers, baggage masters, engineer, conductor, collector and sometimes quite active artilleryman, for this country was not a land of sucking doves. The man behind the gun was in evidence or was at least prepared for hostile emergencies. All readers of Dicken's stories know the standing of Ye Coachman, and all American pioneers know of the skill and the daring of the stage drivers on the western trails. Those drivers of the Orchard stage coaches in their rough homespun suits, stuck around with crude firearms were ever looked up to as a favored class—holding exalted positions. In the words of Fitzhugh of Georgia, doorkeeper of the United States senate they were considered bigger men than old Grant and there was nothing too good for them.

My father was the respected and honored driver on one stage of this line. He was in the bloom of manhood, just over from Axminster, England, and having a marked accent, became familiarly known all along the drive by the name of the Little Englishman. On the opposite run, the driver was Robert McPheeters the father of our Dory and John McPheeters. McPheeters was known all along the line as Windy Bob, because he was a spinner of some wonderful stories. Bob was a story-faker chief, said to be the biggest that ever struck the trail or the town, before the arrival of god old Dr. Oregon Smith the prince of story romancers.

The salary for this honored but responsible stage service to each driver was sixteen and two-thirds dollars per month and found, meaning free lodging, board and laundry. This pay was regarded as princely wages in the thirties, a period of hard times and scarce money.

Passengers were not sold tickets as railroads now do but

were way-billed more like live stock freight. The drivers picked up or set down passengers at their homes in the larger towns, and delivered at their resident destination in each of the terminal cities. The drivers were collection agents for all unpaid fares and did this business on honor and without bond. A passenger from Bloomington to Indianapolis was charged or way-billed for three dollars, and to Louisville for six dollars. No second class fares or half rate fellows like overgrown youths or circuit riding preachers were considered. The report that these drivers stopped at the bottom of a steep hill when the stage was heavy loaded and called down "All first class passengers get out and walk, all second class passengers get out and push", was a story of Windy Bob's own creation.

The Orchards with their stage drivers were the first near-railroad men of Monroe county. They were minus the iron rails and iron horse and coach of which they were the fore-runners. Those two old time stagers were crowded off the scene of action, had to come down from their high seats, their occupation gone, their positions usurped by the new locomotive drivers, the brass buttoned, blue coated conductors on the incoming railroad trains of the new area. They gracefully accepted the situation, gave a double farewell to Ye lumbering old stage coach and a hearty three times three welcome to Ye easie going passenger train of the

NEW ALBANY AND SALEM RAILROAD

New Albany, Indiana, was an ambitious little city on the north bank of the Ohio river. Salem, Indiana was a progressive little hamlet thirty-five miles inland. This city and town had many social and commercial interests in common. They had attained the age of majority and were friendly and chummy, and flirted and courted until they absorbed the double-headed notion that they would like to be joined together in the iron bands of railroad wedlock. They made an appeal to the new and great state of Indiana—a license was granted and marriage was consummated January 6, 1847. The road was completed January 18, 1850 and was christened the New Albany and Salem for which James Brooks stood as godfather and Phoebe Brooks as godmother.

This New Albany and Salem youngster was born delicate

and weakly. It was fairly perfect in form and feature and limbs and was ready and anxious for traffic and business. Its plaything like track was laid of common flat-bar iron, spiked through to sawed wooden stringers, braced apart and bound together every six feet by wooden cross ties. It had two daisy little light-weight engines bearing the names of James Brooks and Phoebe Brooks, in honor of its worthy president and his wife. Its complement of toy-like coaches, box cars and gondolas were ample enough for all the business in sight or to be secured.

The opening of this railroad put the little town of Salem on the map in name and reality, and swelled it up with pride like a peacock with a new spring suit of plumage. It encouraged newcomers and welcomed visitors, the railroad affording a new outlet, and a new experience. Many people in New Albany and all about the Fall City, Louisville, Kentucky, got the fashion of making excursion trips to the country town of Salem. Travelers and pleasure seekers spoke the phrase "Going to Salem" that it came to be a by-word. So much so that a New Albany newspaper made quite an amusing wood cut illustration of the saying. It represented two boys walking along a road near a sign board of a hand pointing and reading "To Salem". Each boy carried in his arms a nice sail rigged toy boat. Underneath the picture was printed the boys' gleeful occupation "Going to Sail 'em". (I have this picture preserved in an old scrapbook).

It is told that in the first early shipments of freight by this road was an old black negro mammy, tagged, addressed and way-billed by weight and by freight just as a Durham cow is now handled and freighted. This old colored woman was not shipped nor destined to stop or sojourn in Salem for it is an unwritten law of that town that no off-color people be allowed to reside in town or county. This is quite respected and honored in its observance even unto this day.

The New Albany and Salem railroad was financed, built and equipped by gifts and loans of its promoters and friends and by the sale of stock. It was as poor as the turkey that scratched dirt in Job's back yard. Yet it industriously held its own for many years. It had almost the ambition and aspiration of Jay Gould in his determination to build a line of railroad to

the Pacific coast. It first discovered that there was no reasonable excuse for chartering such a selfish, sawed-off, short stop railroad. The whole state of Indiana was almost unoccupied territory. The mistake was so apparent that the original charter was amended under the same name and title "To extend to any point in the State of Indiana."

Under this amended charter of 1847 Michigan city on lake Michigan was named as its first ultimate point for extension. This city was on the northern boundary of the state and at a distance of 288 miles from the Ohio river. Here was something worth while and there were far greater and more strenuous things for it under amended charters.

Before the railroad was opened for traffic to Salem in 1850 engineers were at work surveying a route north to Michigan city. The survey was quite tedious. The south and central part of Indiana is broken and quite hilly ground. The lines were run around hills, along streams and through valleys, following the lines of least resistance and least expense for construction. Not as ziz-zag as lightning but as crooked as White river and for this it was sometimes made the butt of ridicule.

A small calibre engineer sent over the line once in the interests of some prospective buyers reported that he saw but one place where a curve could be made and there was none and that a good self respecting civil engineer could not look at a true map of the line in the face and keep from using cuss words. Another one was even more sarcastic. He said that a gray hound chasing a jack rabbit on the line around Horse-shoe Bend and some other short loops would be in danger of having curvature of the spine. Also that if a lake steamer were hitched onto the Michigan city end and were to pull the kinks and curves out of it to a straight line, it would make a track across the south end of Lake Michigan to Chicago.

On the other hand some very competent modern civil engineers have given the opinion that the survey and the locations were a very creditable piece of skill and workmanship. To sustain this view, there has been but one change made from the original line, the Harrodsburg cut off—and that was done for the betterment of the grade. Many other early railroads of the State have been straightening curves and eliminating grades without number.

In the fall of 1849 the New Albany and Salem railroad line was surveyed through our home county of Monroe. From a point on the south line near the town of Guthrie ranging northerly, coming through and splitting Bloomington almost in halves, thence out to the north line of the county near town of Gosport, a long angling line, county cut bias our mothers would say. This has proved a very fit route too, for it has never ravelled out or shriveled up, giving the county a long mileage from which to draw annual taxes.

The greatest bugaboo about adopting this survey was the big expense of constructing the high bridge and fill at Jackson's Creek, and the deep rock clay cut at the edge of town getting through the hog-back ridge, socalled because once infested with razor-back hogs.

This ridge was the highest point on the railroad survey, one of the high points in the state. To the south water flows to the east fork of White river and to the north flows to the west fork of White river. For all this ridge has a deep cut, it still has a steep grade for a railroad. Before any surveys or levels of this ridge divide were taken ascertaining that it was one of the high spots, a dry old Scotchman traveling through by stage coach on a night stop over measured up the altitude by a different standard. He said to a friend: "Bloomington is the highest place in the state. I paid two dollars there for a bottle of ale." That could not have been a slur at the "Temperance Inn". The Orchards were teetotalers and were jewels of consistency.

So this pioneer railroad was projected through Monroe county in 1849, the same year that numbers of our citizens hit the trail bound for the gold mines of California. With them with equal propriety it may be dubbed a forty-niner.

LOCAL ASSISTANCE

It has been mentioned that the New Albany and Salem railroad was built equipped and in operation between its original charter terminals. In that condition it was not quite in the predicament of a companion railroad building in southern Illinois and mentioned in the humorous writings of Irvin S. Cobb. The name of that railroad was the Lake-Gulf, Continental and Pacific Slope. After the promoters got twenty-seven

miles of it built they ran out of money and stopped. The long name protruded out at each end of the right-of-way, and one dark night, the engineer (it had only one engineer) mistook the road name for the track and ran the train off the end of it, painfully injuring Henry Clay Potts, a traveling salesman for a tobacco house at Paducky, Kentucky.

The New Albany and Salem railroad was short of ready money about as helpless as a busted bank. However it had nerve and grit, and friends that were workers and pushers for its charter extension. It was assisted by gifts and grants and by subscriptions for railroad stock. The fashion of building railroads was raging in Indiana, any county not having one was out of fashion and was out of the world as well.

Monroe county had no railroad so it began to pick up and take notice. Here was a new railroad being projected lengthwise through the great state of Indiana. A proposition to connect the navigable water of the Ohio river with that of the Great Lake. Not a stingy "all wool and a yard wide pattern", as our merchants say, but a for-sure standard railroad, two hundred and eighty-eight miles long and thirty-three and one-third yards wide, warranted a sure go, a big winner and an enormous revenue producer. Monroe county could have thirty three miles of this road within its own boundaries for the asking—substantially backed up of course with sufficient assistance and encouragement.

The Company only advocated a free right of way, some donations and a nominal stock subscription. This stock was to be a dividend winner, and a valuable and paying investment for ever and ever. In addition the town of Bloomington was promised a railroad roundhouse, the machine shops and a freight division terminal.

Town meetings were called, the public's feelings worked up and all citizens were enthusiastic for giving and getting the road at any and all hazards. The argument was that, just as sure as civilization follows the flag, so does commerce follow the cowcatcher, and the railroad would work for the upbuilding, the betterment and great salvation of Monroe county.

Thomas Carter my grandfather was a hard pusher and untiring worker for the new road, and was elected as chief stock solicitor. Afterwards he was appointed stock collector and

local paymaster for the railroad. His office was in the George Johnson little brick store on the corner where the First National bank building is now being erected. I was a much favored son of my grandfather. I had accommodated him by taking his name Thomas Carter at my christening (about which I was not consulted, however) but for reason of affection or official nepotism I was made his office boy and here it was I first learned of actual railroad doings, because right up on the front seat of the railroad band wagon so close to the head of the procession. Building grounds and right of way were pledged to the railroad and a liberal stock subscription procured. Fifty dollars was made the price of a share and there was no limit to the game. It was thought to be the simon-pure old Jacob Townsend blown in the bottle goods and was as popular accordingly as Mrs. Winslow's soothing syrup with teething children. Just as every sucker in the state takes a bottle or two so every citizen must have a share or two. People fairly fell over themselves in haste to subscribe. I remember often looking over the stock book giving the names and numbers of shares of the many subscribers. It looked like a duplicate Monroe county tax list of that period and each and every one of them subscribed like a bloated bond holder for from five to twenty shares. Mr. Carter in stock soliciting did meet with one notable rebuff, out of the ordinary.

He bumped up a time or two against Phillip Bunker, a fine old Virginia gentleman (it would have been more fitting if he had been from Missouri) having lately settled in the county. He was the owner of a fine farm, well to do, and able to help in any public enterprise, but downright close and stingy and of the doubting Thomas order. Being urged earnestly to help along by subscribing for a block of stock, he finally did open his heart and loosen up his purse string by saying: "Well Mister Kahtah, sah, if that thar stock sah, is as good as you say it is, sah, you may put me down for fifty cents wuth, sah, and no moah, sah."

Terms of payment for this railroad stock were very easy; most anything went in payment—cord wood, cross ties, timber, lumber and bridge stone. My father paid for his stock mostly in bridge timber and stone delivered at Jackson's and Clear Creek bridges three miles south of the town. Some subscrib-

ers gave land, Alexander Leland of Beanblossom township gave a full section, six hundred and forty acres in a body. Several gave smaller acreages in other parts of the county. There was also quite a body of land in Greene county acquired by the railroad in the same manner.

Of the four lots occupied by the depot and its surroundings, two were given by J. O. and S. O. W. Orchard, and two by Ellis Stone in exchange for railroad stock.

The first location survey of the route into town was east of the present line along Walnut street and following Spanker's branch across the Maxwell, Ben Adams and Graded School lots to the present site of the depot. Because the owners of these lots would not give a right of way in exchange for stock the route was changed to the Bedford road and up Morton street. This line the railroad got free, just appropriated the road and the street, without leave or license. In this the railroad built better than it knew, even if it did have a costly cut to make it had there a nice stretch of straight track the longest in the county.

In making collections of all this railroad stock subscription there was but one contention about payment, and that was due to breach of promise on the part of the railroad. The first survey of the road in the south part of the county was located near the Ketcham mills. On the strength of this survey Col. John Ketcham owner of the mill and a large body of surrounding land subscribed for a block of railroad stock. The route of the road was afterwards changed by the railroad folks on the plea of getting more business out of the little town of Smithville than from the mills. This change so exasperated Colonel Ketcham that he refused payment of his stock subscription. Smith was brought in court to enforce payment and the railroad lost, no ketch-'em Ketcham stock. All told it is believed that near one hundred thousand dollars worth in donation and in stock was gathered from the willing and generous people of Monroe county.

The stock, as per railroad representation, was a sure permanent investment, at least as far as the paper goes on which it was written. No doubt great bunches of it today could be raked out of old socks and strong boxes—worthless souvenirs of each owner's railroad investments. The stingy old Virgin-

ian who acted so cleverly "I am from Missouri, sah", proved a wise old owl, and had the laugh on his more liberal neighbors who delivered the goods. The people got what they went after and for what they bargained.

Built in a happy go lucky fashion, in the crudest, easiest and least expensive way, it was nevertheless, a railroad and filled the prescription and met the requirements. The town got its promise too, in a four-stall engine roundhouse, stocked with one little hot-air base-burner, hour-glass shaped, sand sifter-dryer, a machine shop lean-to-employing one brawney blacksmith and his helper, a one hoss (iron horse) turn-table, and the railroad's middle division terminal. In addition to all that it got a great big unsightly brick depot thrown in for good measure ; given as a compliment to the town and the people who had given their lots and lands, and chattels and good money so spontaneously. This big depot went up in holy smoke one Sunday morning in May, 1868 by a Heaven-sent lightning-kindled fire, burning numerous lots of merchandise and all the early records of the local station. It was shortened up at both ends constructed in dimensions and rebuilt by Richard A. Fulk, contractor. There was no kick coming and there was none registered from the good citizens of Monroe county. When the lord made all things and pronounced them good he had not yet caused to be made the New Albany and Salem railroad and its novel equipment.

Some seventy miles of the main line track was built of flat bar iron in manner as has been described. One advantage of this kind of railroad construction, it did not furnish an attractive highway for the hobo cross tie pounder, with his measured tread or lock step, habit. They gave it a wide berth in their weary travels.

The ordinary pounding of the engines on this flat-bar track often loosened the flat-headed nails and the end of the bar springing up was called a snakehead. This was as much of a danger signal as a red flag. A stop had to be made and the end of the bar respiked down before proceeding or the train was derailed. The constant loosening of these bars, and their springy nature was ever a source of trouble and of danger. My father and mother, passengers on one of the early trains, were almost "mortally scart" by one of these bars coming

loose and poking up under the moving train, and breaking through the floor near the seat they occupied, bending up the bar in horse shoe like shape on the inside of the coach, to the injury of some and to the imminent danger of many of the passengers.

This flat bar, a poor apology at best, was used until worn to mere streaks of rust. A green engineer making a first trip over this worn track shying around the hills and scooting along the crooked streams trying to follow the weed covered twin streaks of rust got lost or confused and mixed up in direction. Stopping his engine near a wood chopper on a hillside he called "Helloa thare, Say stranger, Is this the right road to New Albany?"

The first little wheezy wood-burner, fire-tossing engines, with their balloon shaped smoke stacks, and their canvas covered bow top cabs of wagon bed shape were of small and light pattern.

The first engines of the New Albany and Salem railroad proper were named for the officers of the road, all residents of New Albany, two of duplicate make, one for James Brooks the other for Phoebe Brooks his wife. Others for George F. Talman, George Lyman and B. F. Maston and some other officers. There was one exception but a fit associate of these high gentry, which had the name of "Sampson" the strong man of biblical history. This was an extra strong engine, it had no record for violence toward men but to bulls and cows trailing along its right of way was credited with mangling a plenty.

The other rolling stock of the road, those little short squatty sawed off eight-ton box cars had roofs so low that a full grown man had to stoop or telescope himself to enter and could not stand erect inside. Counterparts of cars that Artemas Ward compared to a "string of second hand coffin cases on roller coaster wheels, and passenger coaches in appearance a cross between a hearse and an omnibus and when in motion so noisy that you could not hear a coupling pin drop". One of these engines, a coach and a box car or two would make a rattling good old time railroad exhibit for the nineteen and seven Jamestown exposition.

A dinky little train of this kind of equipment was the first one put in service. It was called a "Wild Cat" a go-as-you-

please train for work and for freight. If a passenger could get on and could stay on and take box car luck with the crew he was accommodated. No agents were on the road yet, but this train would take on or put off freight at any old place if the owner was in charge. So, would-be passengers, farmers wanting to ride to town, woodchoppers, timber cutters going to work at some point on or near the road, would offer a dinner pail, a chopping tool or some trifling article as freight, pay twenty-five cents freight, get on the train and ride as a passenger to get off and take charge of shipment at any place demanded. Uncle Tobe Batterton on a fishing bout at Salt Creek one day stopped this train and freighted two little goggleeye fish to the Walker meat market, just to get on the train and have a ride into town and home.

After the new road was placed in better condition this free and easy "Wil Cat" train was superseded by two mixed trains of a few freight cars and one coach for passengers. These trains were called "Accommodation", and there was a train each way every day between New Albany and Bloomington provided they made the trip. These trains had a printed schedule or time card to run on, but it was of little more use than a last month's calendar. They were "Accommodation" in name and in feature. George Ade denominated such trains, "lovers accommodation", because they "would wait at station for the last farewell and long drawn out kiss of parting lovers, and would then move off slowly to make the separation more gradual". These trains would stop for a passenger when flagged at any public crossroads, and sometimes were stopped half innocently for other purposes.

Mother Clifford flagged a train one day; when she did not climb aboard the conductor asked her what was wanted. She calmly asked him to change a five dollar bill for her which he obligingly did. Another time a wag of a boy flagged the train, when asked for what he stopped the train said "he thought it might have a passenger that wanted to stop at the crossroads." These and other like stops, put the trains off time. Then a flagman had to be sent out who trotted ahead at a lively like gate like an early day letter postman, and who gave warning to any approaching trains. These trains were never near card schedule, often from twelve to twenty hours

late. It was during this regime of trains that Lewis Bollman being in New Albany got a letter that his wife was quite ill. Wishing to get home the quickest way he could not wait for the wagon, "the uncertain moving trains." He claimed and is credited with walking from New Albany to Bloomington, ninety-seven miles, in a day's time, beating the time of some trains and saving the price.

A disgruntled passenger writing about these trains said it took a long summer day to get there for the engine was fed with wood and we now and then had to load the tender with fuel corded on the right of way and water the locomotive sometimes by bailing from near streams with buckets, (the brakeman called this operation jerking water) and from this the road gets its name of jerkwater road. It also had to stop to mend couplings, to cool off hot-boxes, drive cattle off the track, and wait at meeting points for other trains in equally bad luck.

About the worst slur of record on these slow trains, was made by a passenger, a game Kentucky woman who during a stop of the train put her head out of the coach window and exclaimed, "Wy Why, there's that nigger on horseback I saw ten miles back from here. Gee, I wouldn't have that hoss—he is a back number, can't go faster than this train."

As the New Albany and Salem railroad was slowly being pushed to completion for its full length north and was to be opened for through traffic it found itself in need of more and of new engines. So all the old official named engines of whatever name color or previous condition of servitude were rushed through the back shop at New Albany, repainted and regilded into new engines. Glittering all over with bright brass mountings, and shining with new coat of paint as many colored as Joseph's coat, these old engines came out spick and span as new and the whole bunch was palmed off on the public as new engines. As a compliment to the citizens they were ornamented with the names of the several best town. There was engine Salem, Orleans, Bedford, Bloomington and so on to Michigan City.

Engines seemed to be almost invariably given masculine names, yet it is the uniform custom of roundhouse to speak of them in feminine gender as her or she.

These little masculine named and feminine petted New Al-

bany and Salem wood-burner engines, with their big mouthed, balloon shaped, little at bottom and big at top smoke stacks, were great spark tossers and fire spreaders. In the country on heavy pulls they would scatter fire all over the landscape. The section men all along the lines were trained fire fighters and worked overtime on the job.

Heavy trains from the very first, just as now, had to be started north from Bloomington, up the steep grade and through the deep cut curves with two engines, a puller and a pusher. The fiery furnace display these little belching engines gave out on a dark night was a pretty pyrotechnic exhibition worthy the observation of fireworks lovers. This was stopped in a manner after some years by the introduction of spark arresters and completely done away with when engines were converted into coal burners.

OPENING

The track of the New Albany and Salem railroad was laid into Blomington in the fall of 1853 but it was not finished through the county until the following summer. On the south division work and accommodation trains had been running with some degree of regularity, and occasional freight trains were in service on the north division. At Bloomington, July 4, 1854, the New Albany and Salem railroad was declared finished and open for traffic throughout its completed length. Excursion trains crowded with people came in to Bloomington from both north and south. Men, women and children from Monroe and from adjoining counties came in to see and to make merry. It was a grand opening advertising like our merchants pull off and the New Albany railroad was the goods. That Fourth of July celebration was not the usual reading of the Declaration of Independence, handing a lemon to King George the Third with canon-cracker firing and "bombs bursting in air" accompaniments. The excursion trains from New Albany brought in some of the officers of the railroad and there was a free for all jollification, glorification, speeches from delighted railroad men, and also from jubilant citizens, a feast of reason and a flow of soul, and a big barbecue dinner served on the courthouse square. Bouquets galore were handed to James Brooks and associates as well as to Monroe county's heroic workers and stockholders.

There was just one little discordant note from a disgruntled neighborhood smart-fellow who had binocular vision into the future of premonition of probable bankruptcy; and who vented his spleen on gigantic confidence games and stock juggling exploitations in general but on none in particular.

To this jollification Fourth of July meeting our honorable and worthy club member Judge Duncan, a lusty country boy then from Lawrence county came up on the train that day to see something doing. It was his first trip away from home alone he told me and he was so afraid the western train would get away from him or he would get lost in the great crowd that he hardly dared get out of sight of the train; for he did not want to be left behind, and have his good mother crooning "Where is my wandering boy tonight".

That day the young people had a gala day, and sights never before witnessed. They hung around the novelty, the "Kiv-ered Kars" just like they do around the elephant tent on show day. "All went merrie as a marriage bell" except some up-country girls were scared almost into a conniption fit by the trainmen shouting in their hearing their impertinent and as they thought personal insult put away train orders, such as "shunt her", "Run her up the main", "Switch her in side", "Kick her overcrossing" "Cut her in two", all mixed in with a goodly sprinkle of explosive profanity.

Now began the running of passenger trains through town on time card schedule. From their first inception almost the entire population of town turned out en masse to meet the trains. The novelty and the attraction was irresistible. The people got the habit, and have the credit of most industriously and enthusiastically keeping it alive for many years. This train-going habit was indulged in as a sort of afternoon recreation (the two passenger trains in either direction passed the station in early afternoon) and it flourished like a vaudeville show until given a knock-out jolt by the arrival of too many trains, so many trains that it induced tiresomeness and led up to the lingering death of the train-going habit about the year of the opening of the present century.

Kin Hubbard makes Abe Martin his Philosopher of Brown County in his 1907 Almanac, remark about those train-going lady habitues: 'Having once overcome their inborn desire to

hang around the depot when the trains come in, these women took readily to housework and became ideal wives and neighbors”.

The first year or two of the railroad's operation of trains it had no telegraph or Morse Code or Marconi system or any quick work modern methods. Later along and in conformity with other railroad work an apology of a telegraph line was constructed. It was very like some of our country party telephone lines of this date. One small strand of common wire loosely strung on low black jack poles, about such as farmers use for training butter beans and hop vines. The first message used were sight written, that is were first impressed on a long narrow white paper ribbon, by feeding through a little roller dot and dash perforating receiver, then cut out, deciphered and translated from the Morse code into United States and into train order formulas. This machine process was as slow as a freight train on a wenty-five per cent grade and like machine madegoods and machine made poetry, it was not as good stuff as the smoking hot voice turned off by hand or by brain of our present day sound lightning jerkers.

George Chase, a long time shoe merchant here, a young man then, was the first operator or rather paper ribbon reader, and the wire, or the spark, or the receiver had a very naughty habit of getting out of order, falling down or out of adjustment at the most inconvenient and inopportune times imaginable. In these tantrums the telegraph was no better all around day and night train speeder and regulator than the stone sun dial on the University campus is a time adjuster on a cloudy day.

There was one train on the railroad that neither time nor tide nor telegraph could hasten or regulate. That was the train to which the pay car was attached. It was sometimes weeks late, that much behind monthly schedule. Its trips were like angel's visits “few and far between”. The employees' pay was not princely and was as slow as the racing tortoise to get there, and many vigorous kicks were frequently registered. Blackie Chandler a short time employee as extra brakeman made complaint that it was a damned site harder wurruck, and tuck longer time to git yous pay after yees had yearned it, that it ded time to yearn it in first place. Owen Meredith

wrote in Lucille: "Civilized man could not live without cooks". Railroad men are sort o' civilized and could not live without dining. So to keep in touch with eating-house-keepers employees got advance railroad scrip, a sort of grub stake currency. In railroad lingo of the men it was denominated hog and hominy orders. (Our quarry men call such scrip bean orders and they love to despise them like sin.)

Lee Willson, a wag of an engineer, running his engine without sand supply, to the question why? gave as a reason that the railroad company had none and there was not a sand bar or a sand bank on either fork of White river, or any other bank on his run that would honor the company's draft for two bushels of engine sand.

From its very first inception the railroad was the butt of ridicule, and got the gaff from employees and the public. It was dubbed and derided as the jerkwater, the dogfennel, the double-track-twin-Rust-Streak, et cetera. Its trains were named Wild Cat, Screech Owl, Ragtime (flag) and Ten-minute-a-Mile-Scooter. It got there all the same going or coming, and it was not long putting the old Virginia wagon and the Concord coach out of commission, and causing their drivers to go way back and sit down.

The first employees in train service were few in number and quite well known. In a boy's youthful fancy, the men that made the "wheels go round", engineers and conductors, were great big IT. The first engineers came in from some older road, had served apprenticeships and were skilled in their profession. They were quiet as Quakers and brown and rugged as Comanche Indians. Their names could be mentioned as well as the names of the engines they handled.

Edward Gregory engineer with James Draysdale fireman on engine Blomington pulled the first train "The Construction" into Monroe county as well as the first passenger train into Bloomington. These two men became residents of this city. Edward Gregory married Miss May Sluss, and James Draysdale married a sister of the late D. O. Spencer. Ed Gregory gave a limb and a life time to the railroad, as engineer, master mechanic and passenger train conductor.

James Draysdale was a long time trusted engineer, but he seemed to get under an unlucky star and was caught in several

wrecks. One disabled him for a long time, and he was taken care of by the lodge of Odd Fellows of this city for a period of eighteen months or longer. Just a limited amount of instruction and training soon made trainmen and conductors. When wanted they sprang up in a night like Johah's gourd. Some of the conductors names were Col. John McCrea, Wm. F. Browning, W. M. Tate and Calvin Snodgrass. Later James Kelly, John Armstrong, Peter Copp and Isaac Dains. These four resigned conductorships to accept Captain's commissions in the volunteer army of the Civil War and all of them lost their lives in the service of their country. Browning and Snodgrass are the only representatives now living. Conductor-ing was in its infancy and its honesty. The toss up over the bell cord settlement, all that sticks to the bell cord is railroads money and all that comes down is conductors, was not then in practice. Nor was color blindness—can't tell railroad's from personal money an epidemic. These old time, old conductors got none of these old chestnut roasts, nor tainted money stings, for like Caesar's friends they "were all, all honorable men".

Then came on a younger generation of railroad men, boys, young roosters about my age and calibre. That like "Uncle Tom's Cabin Topsy, just growed up and stepped into railroad work and positions. Their numbers are legion, to write their names on these pages would make them look like the leaves from the city directory.

Bloomington was a terminal of two divisions, regular incubator and worked to the limit of its capacity. Of the first "hatch out" there is but two of the youngest now in railroad employ, all the others got a plenty, stepped down and out, or on account of age limit were subject to Oslerization. Conductor Jack Mitchell runs a passenger Flyer on the Missouri Pacific, Kansas City to Denver, Colorado. Engineer Ezra Mathers is a Big Four veteran, pulls the New York Knickerbocker, Indianapolis to St. Louis, Missouri, and return. Here also is a coincidence, these two old stickers are brothers-in-law, having married sisters, nieces of the late Col. John Harrell, ex-treasurer of Monroe county.

New Albany and Salem employees were better educated and better trained than the ordinary run of railroad men. Every mother's son of them spoke two languages—English and pro-

fane. A good Quaker woman said it sounded like stutter word languages—a sort of railroad Esperanto.

The conductors could read the hurriedly writter train orders without prompting from telegraph operator and they could place their signature to the pay roll with the handy steel pen or oftener with the illiterate sans X buck. When cautioned about knocking down cash fares, they learnedly replied none but the brave deserve the fair. When told by a cash fare passenger that they had collected a half dollar more than the opposite run conductor did for the same distance they kindly handed back fifty cents with wise remarks "We meet all honorable competition. There is nothing small about us but our salary."

The New Albany and Salem railroad was known and called the College Road for the reason it had such a string of colleges all along the line. There was DePauw Seminary, Borden Institute, Southern Baptist Normal, State University, Asbury College, Wabash College, PerDue Agricultural, Northern Normal not mentioning a state reformatory at the south and a state penitentiary at the north terminal.

Not excepting any named the railroad had ex-pupils as employees from every one of these schools of education. Smart, bright, clever employees but to their shame some of them as crooked as ziz zag lightning, and these are the fellows that helped hasten the railroad into the hands of a receiver.

ABSORBED

October 4, 1859 the New Albany and Salem railroad recovered from the hands of a receiver and was placed under a new management. Salem lost its place and name in the railroad game. On this same date New Albany also was given a mortal wrench and lined up as a way station, but permitted to hold second place in the new title of Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railroad Company.

"An onion tastes as sweet by any other name" says the fair Juliette. It was a lemon that was handed the two original railroad terminals. Salem squirmed and kicked as fiercely as the mule maud of the Hearst sunday paper supplement. The only satisfaction she got was the noises and the bruises on

her hoofs, from banging on the doors of a new railroad heartless corporation.

The set-back, shake up and jar to New Albany placed her in about the same predicament as Pat Casey was given in a train wreck. Casey was a passenger in a sleeping berth one night when the coach was wrecked. In his scare and haste to make his toilet he donned his trousers hindside before, and in his scramble to get out he rolled down a steep embankment. While in this plight a friend came to his assistance. Brushing the gravel out of his whiskers, and getting him straightened up, he asked Casey if he was hurt? Casey surveying himself, and noticing his trousers on hind side before said "No Oi'm not hoort, but Oi've got a devil of a twist".

New Albany was allowed to retain her grip on the general offices which she had monopolized from the very beginning, but being forced to play second fiddle, what a fall was there my countrymen. The name of the old pioneer, the loved and respected New Albany and Salem railroad is obliterated forever. With its crooked road, its rusty rails, its wireless telegraphy, its dingy cars, its pigmy engines, and its slow time card it proved out, it got there in good shape, it was worth the price.

Goodbye and farewell.



Reviews and Notes

The Land of the Potawatomi. By ELMORE BARCE, Fowler Indiana. Member of Indiana Historical Society. pp. 115. 1919. Fowler.

The readers of the Magazine are acquainted with the author, Mr. Barce. He has been interested for years in the history and legends of the Potawatomi who inhabited the prairies northwest of Lafayette, and the early settlement of this section by the White pioneers. The Indians themselves, their relation to the early British agents, their part in the Tippecanoe campaign, their later banditti life, Topenabee, their trails, the Chicago road, the old taverns, the Grand Prairie, the prairie fires, groves and plains and the first cattlemen are some of the topics the author has treated. While no footnotes are given the author has appended a bibliography showing that he has searched far and wide for all the evidence to be found relating to his subject. The author has a keen sympathy for the pioneer times and things and a good easy style of writing. These he combines to give us a gem in the little book under review. Besides preserving the bits of history now fast disappearing and the legends it is a literary treasure.

Centennial History of Illinois. The Illinois Centennial Commission of fifteen members, authorized by act of January 21, 1916 and appointed by Gov. Edward F. Dunne, besides other work of a celebrational nature, planned a history of the state, to be complete in five volumes. In commendable distinction from similar committees elsewhere this committee recognized that serious history writing was the work of specialists and assigned the actual work over to young men carefully trained in the best history seminaries in the country. The general supervision and direction of the work was placed in the hands of Professors Evarts B. Greene and Clarence W. Alvord of Illinois University. The commission has availed itself of the best historians of the state and has apparently assisted in plac-

ing at the disposal of the writers all the historical materials to be had. Three volumes have now appeared and if the others maintain their high excellence the people of Illinois will not be disappointed. They are certainly the best work so far done in the field of state history. The introductory volume is entitled:

Illinois in 1818. By SOLON JUSTUS BUCK, Springfield, 1917. pp. 362.

When the work was begun Dr. Buck was secretary of the Illinois Historical Survey at the University of Illinois. Since then he has become secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society. The purpose of this volume is to give a picture of Illinois at the time of its admission, a back ground or setting for the later volumes. It takes some effort to get back to 1818 from Illinois at the present. Indians hunted over far more than half the state. The state was sandwiched across the American frontier. The first chapter therefore deals with the Indians and the fur trade. Almost as dissimilar and unreal were the ancient subjects of Louis le Grande living on the southwest border of the state from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. Into this wilderness the author must next bring the surveyor and land speculators to prepare for the lank, backwoodsmen now transforming themselves into prairie farmers. After sketching briefly the location and amount of public lands open for settlement the reader may take his position at Shawneetown, Vincennes or Old Kaskaskia and watch the weird procession come in to take possession of their own after half a century of bloody conflict. Illinois has had a full measure of distinction but nothing in its history should be more inspiring to the citizens of today than to see in imagination these lusty veterans, mens, women and children, march quietly in and take their places on the firing line. Too often they are overlooked among the more gifted men who came later to develop the country, frequently by crowding out the original settlers.

The scene changes. The conquerors pass off and the organizers come on, with their work of social, political and economic development. Poetry gives way to prose, romance to reality. The latter are not unlike ourselves, we can understand and appreciate them, the former belong to a different world,

ethically and economically a different world. The chief event in the process of organization was the formation of the state, so the author devotes the last five chapters to this work. In this there is little peculiar to Illinois. The new constitution was almost a duplicate of those of Indiana and Ohio. The bogey of slavery was present in all but there was only a remote probability that the institution would gain a foothold anywhere in the movement.

The author has observed all the rules of good historical composition. The purpose evidently was to set forth a fair picture, truthful and lasting. Many a good pioneer story has evidently been passed up; many a dramatic situation has had to be neglected. Those who desire a thrilling story of course will be disappointed. Likewise the author has disappointed those readers who look in history for the delineation of great social forces—a modern name for the discarded philosophy of history. No one except a novice in the field of history or a charlatan indulges in these sweeping generalizations. A good bibliography and index add to the general excellence of the volume.

The Frontier State 1818-1848 The centennial history of Illinois By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE, University of Illinois. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company. 1919. 745 p. \$2.00.

This volume is one of a series written and published by the Centennial Historical commission to place in the hands of the citizenship of Illinois a reliable account of the transformation of a wilderness land into the present state of Illinois. It illustrates the advantages and disadvantages of coöperative authorship. The disadvantages of cross-sectioning are about equaled by the advantages of more careful investigation. Dr. Pease has rightly relied, entirely it seems, on primary sources—newspapers, state records and manuscripts. Any one who has not tried can never realize how difficult it is to wring a connected consequential story out of such materials. The writer who produces alleged history from reports of commissions, public speeches and magazine articles may even die in the belief that he has been a historian. The public has very little appreciation of the vast gulf between the two kinds of

history. It is unfortunate that the same name has to be given to the products of both. There is the same fundamental difference between the work of Dr. Pease and that of the commercial or hack historian as between the artist and the photographer.

The period covered by the volume is the thirty years from 1818 to 1848. The problems were primarily political. The author has devoted twelve of the twenty-two chapters to political development. During this time the state was organized and political parties developed. During the first period political activity centered around the leaders and the whole is correctly named the period of personal politics. Even what is known in American history as Jacksonian Democracy is only a national case of personal politics. Similarly the tremendous following of Harrison was primarily personal. During the thirty years the questions of slavery, both national and state, finance, including the bank struggle, internal improvements and the public lands were threshed out on the Illinois hustings. These questions are the more difficult because no party stood for them but rather on each there was a new alignment. Individuals change fronts in bewildering perplexity. Each issue and each individual were influenced to a greater or less extent by still more local issues. The location of the state capital, the location and management of the banks and above all the location of the internal improvements. How considerable these cross-currents operated is shown by a comparison of the conclusions of Dr. Pease with those of the standard historians of the United States. Those who yearn for another period of so-called independent voting should study the history of the north-western states during the period of personal politics.

Besides the essentially political issues the next in importance were banks and internal improvements. Here Dr. Pease found a trace of party regularity, the Democrats usually opposing both, though neither party was able to make either a test of party regularity. Illinois like its neighbors, tried to meet a real economic need with its state bank but failed and had nothing to show for its effort but regretful experience. How far this failure was due to poor management, the situation or party politics the author does not say, perhaps it is impossible to tell. Practically the same general experience

was had with the internal improvements. Here the experience of Illinois was similar to that of Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, so similar that a change of proper names and figures would make the story apply to either state.

The stories of the Mormon war and the Black Hawk war are peculiar to Illinois and are well told. The general attitude of the people toward the Mormons and the Indians was the same in all the western states.

Little can be said in adverse criticism. One is tempted to say that too much space is given to politics. One would like to read of the every-day life of the folks, for the big work after all was that of transforming the woods and prairies into farms. The chapters on Illinois in ferment and social advance are devoted to this subject and for that reason will probably appeal most to the mass of readers. For the corresponding period in Indiana history I was able to find little in either home, church or school that would yield material for the historian. The home life was dull, hard and monotonous, the schools were mostly themes for discussion and neighborhood quarrel. Everything was personal and individual. So in the case of Illinois one might in criticising the author for lack of more attention to these subjects only betray the critic's ignorance.

The style of the volume is not as light and easy as it should be for popular use. Many of the sentences are involved so that one frequently has to go back and re-read them before he grasps the meaning. This may be due in part to the large amount of detail contained. The reader at times when expecting a clear cut conclusion is also disappointed in the caution of the author. Especially is this true where blame is in question as in the bank or internal improvements management.

The state is to be congratulated on the excellence of the work of Dr. Pease. The thanks of the people of the whole northwest are due the author for the long, tedious, dishwashing work necessary in the preparation of such a volume.

The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870. By ARTHUR CHARLES COLE, University of Illinois, Illinois Centennial Commission, 1919. pp. 499.

The author of this volume took up the story where Dr. Pease left off. His first task was to divest his state of its

pioneer garments, a change which took place about the middle of the century. The volume naturally falls into two parts, the passing of the frontier, characterized by the building of cities, organization of social institutions such as schools, churches and banks and the second part, the origin, conduct and resulting problems of the Civil war. During the first period the author travels along in easy coördination with the sister states. Ohio and Indiana passed from the pioneer stage about the same time; each had its internal improvement period, and each tried to organize its banks, schools and other institutions on a better basis. Illinois profited to some extent by the mistakes of Ohio and Indiana on canals but was not so fortunate as Indiana in its banking system. The same influences operated in politics and the experience of Illinois was cumulative until 1860. With the approach of the election of 1860 the plot widens and the history of Illinois becomes inseparable from that of the nation. The debates between Douglas and Lincoln are national and from then till the assassination of Lincoln Illinois history becomes national. One can hardly say that the Republicans of Illinois were more interested than the Republicans of Indiana in the nomination and election of Lincoln. Henry S. Lane, candidate for governor of Indiana, and leader of the Republican delegation from Indiana to the convention of Chicago in 1860, did everything in his power for Lincoln. The Indiana Republicans were as much elated over Lincoln's success as were those of Illinois. The reverse of course is not true. Indiana history for this period has not the national significance. This fact made the task of the historian of Illinois for this period difficult. A most significant chapter is the one on the industrial revolution of 1860-70. Comparatively little attention has been paid to this tremendous result of the war. In the reconstruction period the history becomes more easily limited to state boundaries.

The author is not hampered in this volume for lack of source materials. The problem is no longer one of finding but one of choosing and harmonizing. The volume is written almost entirely from the sources, manuscript and newspaper. These were amply supported by state and federal documents, biographies and reminiscent material.

The writer is best in his political history though such chap-

ters as the passing of the pioneers and the population in wartime are excellent. The chapters on industrial topics such as the coming of the railroads, industrial revolution, and agriculture and the war are rather heavily laden with detail for easy reading. The style in general is easy only occasionally dropping below the usual demands of elegance. The author sustains the high level set by the preceding volumes and insures the state a history worthy of its greatness.

Indiana Historical Collections. The Indiana Centennial 1916. A record of the celebration of One Hundredth Anniversary of Indiana's Admission to Statehood. Edited by HARLOW LINDLEY, Secretary of Indiana Historical Commission. Indianapolis, 1919. pp. 441.

The volume is made up primarily of addresses by various members of the commission, accounts of the county celebrations and the larger pageants. There are a number of full page illustration, principally of the various members of the commission together with the various state houses and the Constitutional Elm. The volume is a decided improvement over the preceding volumes in matters of arrangement, typography and paper. The contents are so various that a detailed review is hardly profitable, if possible.

A copy of the *History of the Heatwole Family* was presented to the Survey by Frank L. Crone. The volume was written by Cornelius J. Heatwole in 1907 and traces the family from near Steeg on the Hundstrück in the fourteenth century down to the present. The American ancestor landed at Philadelphia in 1748.

Iowa Biographical Series. James Baird Weaver. By FRED EMORY HAYNES. Published by the State Historical Society of Iowa. pp. 494. 1919.

The career of General Weaver illustrates in a concrete way the course of western politics since the war. He was born of Scotch, English and German parents in Ohio, educated in the east, and a lawyer by profession. His ancestors fought in the Revolution and he fought in the Civil war. The great interest in his life, however is in his political career which carried him from the Republican party to the Greenbackers, from there to the Populist, from there to Democratic, at all times being a

Prohibitionist on the liquor question. It is not proper in this review to examine the reasons for this career further than to say that this is the principal theme in the biography. He was a radical, as that term is popularly understood and on all political issues was a generation ahead of the voters. No student of present day politics in the United States but will enjoy this study of the life of General Weaver. In many ways he was the forerunner of Bryan and Wilson.

Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa. An Historical Account of the Rights of Women in Iowa from 1838 to 1918. By RUTH A. GALLAHER. State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, pp. 300. 1918.

The volume is divided into two parts. In part I the gradual enlargement of the civil rights of women is traced while in part II the growth of political right has been discussed. In this evolution Iowa stands somewhere near midway, not so radical as the states farther west and not so conservative as those farther east. It may be regarded therefore as following closely the public opinion of the nation as a whole. Beginning with the status of women in the common law the author has followed through the legislation of the state on her personal rights, in education, in the professions, in the criminal and divorce laws, property rights and rights in industry. The political rights sought by women are those of voting and holding office, or the broad right of suffrage. This history of the contest in a typical state, coming now when the fight is almost won in the nation is timely and interesting. As in most of the states women are still without the power of the ballot principally because of the difficulty in amending the constitutions. For the same reason Iowa like most of the states will default its duty and thus again the nation will have to supplement the weakening powers of the state.

Switzerland County Days and Ways, by the class of 1920 of Vevay high school is a pamphlet of eight pages, containing a dozen short local sketches and traditions.

Indiana Historical Society Publications Volume VII, No. 3 and 4.

No. 4, *The National Road in Indiana*. By LEE BURNS, a 28 page pamphlet is a well written account. The writer has

had access to the laws relating to the road, the field notes of the surveyors, the reports of its superintendents and has read the literature of the subject. A list of the taverns along the road is given.

Number 3 is *Reminiscences of the Early Marion County Bar*. By WILLIAM WATSON WOOLEN. The pamphlet consists of 24 pages of personal observations and recollections concerning the leading lawyers of Indianapolis from 1825 to 1850. No lengthy biographies are given but the characterizations are excellent.

THE FORTIETH ANNUAL SESSION of the Department of Indiana Grand Army of the Republic was held May 6, 7, 8, 1919 at Elkhart, Indiana. One hundred seventeen posts were represented. The total membership of the state was 6620 as compared with 7250 one year previous. The total number of posts was 252. The Roll of Honor (deaths during the year) contained 592 names. The *Proceedings*, a pamphlet of 105 pages, gives the statistics of the order and the speeches and reports made at the meeting.

BULLETIN No. 10, Indiana Historical Commission is a prospectus for county war histories. The work of collecting the records of the war is in charge of John W. Oliver and Lucy M. Elliott.

The *Annual Report* of the Louisiana State Museum for 1918 shows a commendable activity on the part of the curators and other officers. The museum was established in the Place D'Armes to preserve historical documents, relics, books, works of art and specimens of minerals, plants and animals. Its ambition is to preserve a material history of the state. It employs a field collector in history and an historical assistant. Among the full page illustrations in the report are a full length portrait of John M. Slidell; a Choctaw Village, 1850; and the Battle of New Orleans from a sketch made in 1815.

The *Fifth and Sixth Annual Reports of the State Fire Marshal*, H. H. Friedley, for 1917 and 1918 are issued in a separate pamphlet. The total fires listed for 1917 numbered 5764 entailing a property loss of \$6,179,436. In 1918 the number of fires was 4,967 with a loss of \$7,055,090. The city of Clinton sustained the highest per capita loss, \$41.40. Most of these

fires are shown to be preventable and the marshal is carrying on a fire-prevention propaganda.

Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America. Vol. XIII.

Part I, 1919. *Daniel Webster's Speeches.* By CLIFFORD CLAPP. University of Chicago Press. 1919 pp. 85. price \$1.10.

The writer has made no effort to write a biography of Webster but merely to list with care the published speeches, separate and in collections, as they have been issued. For any one interested in making a collection of Webster material or a study of the great orator this booklet will be a valuable aid. Brief comment concerning the character and occasion of each speech is made.

The Tennessee Magazine of History for April contains an article by Samuel C. Williams on the Henderson Land Company's activity in Tennessee and an article by J. Tyree Fain on Some Confusing Statements in Ramsay's *Annals*. The latter article is especially interesting in discussing the confusion of names among the Tipton family from which John Tipton of Indiana is descended. Dr. W. A. Provine succeeds St. George L. Sioussat as editor.

THE *Michigan History Magazine* for July 1919 is taken up largely with the state activities in collecting war materials. Besides this is an article by Judge John L. Stone on the Upper Peninsula.

THE *Catholic Historical Review* for July--October contains the biographies of three eminent Catholics, Firmin, Francisco de Lasnen of early California, Cuthbert Fenwick a pioneer of Maryland and Paul de Saint Pierre the first German-American priest of the west. The latter was at Cahokia 1785-1789, at St. Genevieve 1789-1797 and at Iberville 1804-1826. Before coming to Cahokia he had been a chaplain in the French army in America under Rochambeau.

Miscellanies of the Wyoming Historical Society 1919 contains articles on the Early Newspapers of Wyoming, the Wheatland Colony, Story of the Lost Cabin Mines and the Texas Trail.

William and Mary's College Quarterly edited by Lyon G.

Tyler was discontinued with the April number 1919. In its place July 1919 appeared Tyler's *Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* by the same editor.

THE *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for July is largely taken up with an account of the celebration of the 125 anniversary of the incorporation of Pittsburg. Besides this is an article on Pittsburg authors by H. J. Webster.

Smith College Studies, April 1919, contains a study of the life of Hadrian by William Dodge Gray. The July *Studies* contains the Hayes-Conkling Controversy 1877-1879 by Venila Lovina Shores.

MRS. E. H. HARRINGTON, a music teacher of South Bend has recently published the *National Music Chart*. This consists of four octaves, the range of the human voice, of the piano keyboard beginning on the second line below the bass staff and reading to the second line above the treble staff. The chart contains all the rudiments necessary to teach music to beginners in schools. Mrs. Harrington has also prepared the *National Music Reader*.

THE *Twentieth Biennial Report of the Minnesota Historical Society* shows a membership in the society of 509. The library now numbers 131,046 volumes. It occupies a new building, all its own, costing near a million dollars. The Minnesota historical society receives \$25,000 per year from the state and accounts itself poor. Wisconsin gives \$61,000, Illinois \$60,000, Iowa \$55,580. Up until last year Indiana gave \$300 but that was refused in 1919.

The February 1919 *Minnesota History Bulletin* is taken up entirely by Dr. Guy Stanton Ford's address on America's fight for public opinion. The May number has three historical articles. William Gates le Duc, by Gideon S. Ives; The Birth Notices of a State, by Herbert C. Varney; and The Bond Papers.

THE JANUARY *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* continues the record of marriage licenses in the District of Columbia 1801-1820; also there is a list of births and death notices from Quaker records of Montgomery county, Md. The April-July number is devoted to records from Maryland tombstones, principally from Hagerstown and Frederick. The

large proportion of German names here is significant of the importance and extent of this early migration.

THE Ohio Valley Historical Association met October 16-18 at Berea, Kentucky, guests of Berea college. The members in attendance were few but the local attendance was good. The speakers were all present or sent in their papers. Indiana was represented by two speakers, Harlow Lindley of Earlham, who spoke on Henry Clay's Place in History; and Logan Esarey of Indiana University who spoke on the Myth of the Poor White Trash. J. R. Robertson of Berea is the retiring president, W. H. Siebert of Ohio State, is the new president and Elizabeth Crowther of Oxford, Ohio, is secretary. The next meeting will be at Columbus, Ohio.

Year Book of the State of Indiana for the year 1918. By CHARLES KETTLEBOROUGH. Indianapolis, 1919. pp. 1054.

This is the second year book of the state as provided for by act of 1917. The purpose of the book is to standardize the reports of the various offices, boards, commission, bureaus and departments which use public funds. Somewhat over one half of the volume 736 pages is used for that purpose. The remainder, 318 pages is devoted to statistics and information usually contained in the statistical report.



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